CHAPTER .. I

Geography and Topography of Central Asia

CENTRAL ASIA

Central Asia as a geographical term defies precise definition. On the basis of geographical contiguity and close historical and cultural links, the Central Asian region is taken to include that part of Asia which extends from the Kazakh steppes of Soviet Union to Afghanistan and from the Caspian sea to the western boundries of China. It includes Tibet also. The major part of Central Asia now comprising Sinkiang under Chinese rule in the east, the Soviet nationalities of Kazakistan, Turkmanea, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kirgizia in the west is marked by two geographical factors: The arid zone covered largerly by the deserts and small number of river valleys and the oases. The Kazakistan in the western part of Central Asia is called the steppe region marked by a geographical factor ideally suited for pastoral nomadism. This region, as also the northern part of Taklamakan desert in Sinkiang was the wandering place of the nomadic tribes like the yue chis, the tukhars, the wu suns and the śakas. The river valleys and the oases were inhabited by the sedentary population who cultivated small pieces of land around the river banks. The main area inhibited by the sedentary population in the western part of Central Asia previously called Russian Turkestan was the land between the Syr and the Amu rivers which alongwith other minor rivers of the region formed the major river systems of the

western part of Central Asia now called Soviet Central Asia. The habitable parts in Eastern Turkestan or Sinkiang were confined to the oases formed by the Tarin basin which is the major river of Taklamakan. These oases which could sustain a very small population became in course of time big centres of flourishing cultures. These oases included Endere, Khotan, Loulan, Yarkand and Kashgar to the south of Taklamakan and Karashahr, Kuchi and Turfan to the north of the desert. The afore-mentioned region between the Amu and the Syr rivers was called by various names like Trans-oxania, Sogdiana and Mawar-un-Nahar.

The entire Central Asian region being beyond the Oceanic influences faced scarcity of water from early times. As has been rightly put by Vaidyanath[1] the history of Central Asia has been the history of the struggle for water. The conflicts between the nomadic and the sedentary population marked the entire course of the history of Central Asia.

Another chief characteristic is the high mountain system which formed an important element of the landscape in Central Asia. The main mountain systems are; the Tien-sien; which is the dividing line between the eastern and western Turkestan; the Kun lun which forms the dividing line between Sinkiang and Tibet; the Pamirs and the Hindukush which separate Afghanistan from the Soviet Central Asia. The passes on these mountain systems formed

the main lines of communication between different parts of Central Asia. The passes of the Tien sian and the Pamirs formed the connecting link between the eastern and western Turkestan. Passes on the Hindukush were the main lines of communication between the Kabul and the Soviet Central Asia. Another important mountain system is the Karakorum range, the passes on which were used by the caravans from Leh to enter Sinkiang and Tibet. The difficult terrain, rugged passes and the scarcety of roads however never restricted the movement of men and material from one region to another.

Kashmir with which we are directly concerned here, was connected with the Central Asian region through different routes. In ancient times it formed part of Gandhara, (now north west frontier province of Pakistan) and a road along the course of the Jehlum river passing through Muzafferabad, Abbotabad and Hazara reached Peshawar the headquarters of ancient Gandhara. From here the route proceeding to the valley of Kabul passed through Hidda, Nagarahara(Jalalabad), Bamiyan etc. It then crossed the passes of the Hindukush mountains and reached upto Balkh called in Greek Bactriane and in Sanskrit Vāhlīka. It was along this route that the famous Chinese pilgrims Yuan chwang and O'Kong travelled to reach Kashmir. Balkh formed a junction of routes leading to Central Asia. The first route towards the north proceeded through Sogdiana. It crossed the Amu and the Syr and then passed by Tashkend

and the Lake Issiq kol. The route further went westwards through the passes of the Tien shan mountains to Uch Turfan(Aqsu) which lies to the north-west of the Tarim basin. Another route which was mostly used by the Buddhist missionaries went via Tokharestan near Badakhshan and Wakhan and crossed the Wakhjir pass or other difficult passes over the Pamirs. Thus the route reached into Sariqol south of Muztagh Ata. From the ancient capital of this region known as Tash Qurghan different tracks led down to the foothills on the sides of the Tarim basin and further to the Oases of Kashgar and Yarkand. There was also a third route leading from Balkh to the Tarim basin. The route was mostly used by the ancient caravans. It went to the Qizil su or Surkh Ab to big Pamir like valley of the Alai. This route further crossing the upper side of Irkeshtan and the head waters of the river Kashgar reached down to the oases of Kashgar[2].

Kashgar also formed a junction of routes leading from Kashmir via Leh through the Karakorum passes. The first important town in Sinkiang via Karakorum passes was Yarkand on a direct line between Kashgar and Leh in Kashmir. A number of passes would lead to Yarkand from Leh but generally owing to weather conditions and the difficulty of terrain, only the following three were frequently used:

Leh to Yarkand via Nubra valley, Karakorum and Killian passes; 482 miles;

Leh to Yarkand via the Shiyok valley, Karakorum and Yangi Dawan: 515 miles;

Leh to Yarkand via Chanchemo and Saju pass: 577 miles.[3]

Leh was connected directly with Khotan via Ilchi pass. Yarkand and Kashgar were also reached from Kashmir via Gilgit and Yasin valleys and through the Hunza and Sarikol passes.[4] From Kashgar two routes known as the silk routes passed along the northern and the southern fringes of the Tarim basis. These two routes met at the place known as Yu-men-kuan or the Jade Gate near the hills of Tunhwang on the north western boundary of China.[5]

From Leh also started the trade route to Tibet. The route passed through Ruthok- - a small and an important town on the frontier of Ladakh. Ruthok is picturesquely situated on the side of a hill standing isolated on the plain near the eastern end of lake Pangong. Across the lake there runs the official boundary between Tibet and Ladakh in Kashmir. The highest altitude on the route connecting Ruthok with Lhasa at Moriam-la pass is 15,000 feet. The pass defines the waterparting between the sources of the Brahmaputra and the Sutlej.[6]

Referred to as "the roof of the world" Tibet is situated to the south of Chinese Central Asia. It is a region of high plateaus and mountains. On the west it stretches from the Pamir highlands to the rugged mountain border of the Chinese province ef Szechwan on the east. On the south it has the high ranges of the Himalayas and on the north the Kun lun, the Altym tagh and the Nanshan ranges. The western and southern border of Tibet has the Himalayan mass that spread from Nanga parbat in the north-west to Namcha Barwa in the southeast. The highest peak is Mount Everest rising to 29,028 feet on the Tibet Nepal border. Stretching eastwards in the north of the lake Manasarowar is the trams-Himalayan or Kailash range with clusters of high peaks.[7]

The west and north-west region of Tibet has lakes the largest being the Manasarowar in the west. The lakes extend from the Pangong lake in Ladakh near the source of the Indus to the sources of the Salween, the Mekong and the Yangtse rivers. The region is termed as Changthong or "Northern Plateau". Being located far away from the ocean the region is extremely arid and posseses no river outlet. It has many brakish lakes. In the south from the lake Pangong to the Tengri Nor lie the valleys of the upper Indus, the Sutlej and the Brahmaputra.

The river region of Tibet includes the upper courses

of the Brahmaputra, the Salween, the Yangtse, the Mekong and the Yellow river. The ranges runing from north-west to south-west with deep or shallow valleys form innumerable furrows in central and western Tibet.

Most of the important rivers of Asia rise in Tibet. The Indus river is known in Tibetan as the seng-ge kha-'bab meaning "out of the lion's mouth". It has its source in western Tibet near mount Kailash-a mountain sacred to the Buddhists and Hindus, wherefrom it flows eastward across Kashmir and Pakistan. Again, the Sutlej rising in western Tibet and known as the glang-chem kha-'bab meaning "out of the elephant's mouth" flows to the south to reach western India. Another river known in Tibetan as the Rma-bya kha-'bab meaning "out of the peacock's mouth" becomes the Ganges. The Rta-mchog khe-'bab meaning "out of the horses' mouth" flows to the east and joins the Skid chu (Happy river) in the south of Lhasa. This river is known as Brahmaputra. The Salveen river has its source in central Tibet where it is known as Dnyul chu. Flowing through eastern Tibet it enters Burma. The Mekong river is formed of two rivers — the Ngom chu and the Rdze chus starting in the north. These rivers flowing through eastern Tibet merge at Ch'ang-tu and enter Laos and Thailand. The Yangtze river has its source in the 'Bri chu rising in the north east and Huang He or the Yellow river of China has its source in Rma chu also rising in the north-east.[8]

Lhasa is the most important town of Tibet. Other towns next to importance are the monastic town of Tashi lampo (Shigatse) and Gyantse on the Nyang chu river in the southern districts of Tibet. Gyantse is a southern tributary of the Tsampo which joins the river Nyang chu about 150 miles above Lhasa.

It has been estimated that before the Chinese annexation of Tibet in 1959, about twenty percent of the population belonged to the clercal order. Monasteries were the main seats of learning.[9] Traditional division of Tibet comprises three regions known as the Dbus-Gtsang, the Khams and the A-mdo. According to a Tibetan tradition the best religion comes from Dbus-Gtsang, the best men frem Khams and the best horses from A-mdo.[10]

As noted above Tibet was reached from Srinagar via Leh over the Zoji-la pass. O'kong has first made a distinct reference to this road which leads "through the 'gate' to Tou-far or Tibet" [11].

- 0 -

1. Vaidyanath,R., The Formation of the Soviet Central Asian Republics, New Delhi,1967,p.2.
2. Chakravarti,N.P., India and Central Asia, pp.1-5;
   Bagchi,P.C., India and Central Asia, pp.1 ff.;
   Bagchi,P.C., India and China, pp.14-17;
   Majumdar,R.C., The Age of Imperial Unity, pp.636 ff.
3. Bamzai,P.N.K., Kashmir and Central Asia, p.24.
4. Majumdar,R.C., op.cit., p.636.
5. Chakrawarty,N.P., op.cit., p.2.

6. Bamzai, P.N.K., op.cit., p.26.

7. Michael and Taylor, The Far East in the Modern World, Methuen and co Ltd., 1962, P.63;
Ency.Brit., 15th edition, Vol.18, p.373.

8. Ency.Brit., p.373.

9. Bamzai, op.cit., pp.21,22.

10. Ency.Brit., p.373.

11. cf., Bamzai, P.N.K., op.cit., P.26.

C H A P T E R .. II

Introduction of Buddhism in Central Asia

INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM IN CENTRAL ASIA

It is very difficult to write a systematic history of India's cultural expansion due to the scarcity of contemporary material on the subject. However, it is beyond doubt that India's commercial relations with other countries in the west go back to thousands of years before Christ[1]. Truth and legends are interwoven in stories about the initial stages of the spread of Buddhism beyond the Hindukush and thereby to the regions of Central Asia. In the following account effort will be made to see how early Buddhism was introduced into various parts of Central Asia. The information is based on the epigraphic and archaeological evidences supplemented by traditional accounts and also by some literary evidences.

Epigraphic and Archaeological Sources

The rock edicts II and V refer to Aśhoka's sending of missions for humanitarian work and for preaching the teachings of the Buddha in such countries as Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene and Epirus[2].

Two more Aśokan inscriptions came to light in the Kandahar region (southern Afghanistan) in the years 1958 and 1963. First is the bilingual inscription in Greek and Aramaic which tells about Aśoka's conversion to

Buddhism and its benefit to his people.[3] The other inscription in Greek is a rendering of parts of the twelfth and thirteenth rock edicts of Aśoka[4]. Aśoka, a fragmentary text in Aramaic was discovered at Laghman, north-west of modern Jalalabad[5]. Another inscription, in Kharoṣṭhī, on a clay object was extracted from the Begram I layer (3rd-2nd century B.C.) in the norht-west of Kabul. A Buddhist name has been recognised on it.[6]

A few Sogdian translations of Buddhist texts have been excavated from parts of Eastern Turkestan[7]. We have also an inscription that was discovered in Tajikistan in the year 1956. Known as "the oldest Kharoṣṭhī inscription in Inner Asia", this inscription has been assigned to the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C., on paleographic considerations. An alternative deduction from the paleographic data tends to support a later date, i.e., the Kushāṇa period. The inscription is thought to read as : "Nārāyaṇa, be Victorious". However, there seems to be no other testimony bearing on the appearance of the Nārāyaṇa cult in Western Turkestan. "Nārāyaṇa, the Buddha" is found in the Khotanese - Śaka documents from Eastern Turkestan and "Nārāyaṇa, the deva", occurs in the Buddhist Soghdian documents[8]. Accordingly, "Nārāyaṇa" in the aforesaid inscription has been

interpreted as referring to "Nārāyaṇa, the Buddha".

From Archaeological sources it is learnt that there existed small Indian settlements in the southern part of Eastern Turkestan before the Christian era[9]. Indian culture and Buddhism was carried to this region by the nomadic tribes, viz., Śakas and Kushāṇas together with Indian merchants[10]. Also, an Indian dialect, similar to that of north western India, was used as official language in some of these states.[11]

Traditional Accounts

According to Yuan-chwang (7th century A.D.) the first two lay disciples of the Buddha, named Trapuśa and Bhallika, were responsible for the introduction of Buddhism in Tokharistan (northern Afghanistan). These two merchants were the natives of the kingdom of Balkh, the name of the latter being connected with the name of the country. Having come to India in connection with their trade, they arrived in Bodhgaya when the Buddha had just attained his enlightenment. Out of their provisions, they offered cakes and honey to the Buddha, and listened to his discourses. In this way, they became the first lay disciples of the Buddha. When they left, the Buddha gave them his hair and nail cuttings. They built stūpas in their native land to house these holy relics. Yuan Chwang has identified these two stūpas in the neighbourhood of the city of

Balkh[12].

There are many traditions referring to the introduction of Buddhism in Khotan from India. The Tibetan version of Khotan tradition describes the conversion of Khotan as early as the time of the Buddha[13]. Another tradition preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka refers to the political supermacy of Aśoka's son Kuṇāla in the region from Indus to China where the law of the Buddha flourished[14]. According to another Khotanse tradition, a son of Aśoka, named Kustana, founded the kingdom of Khotan about 234 years after the Buddha attained nirvāṇa, i.e., 240 B.C. This tradition claims that an Indian dynasty ruled in Khotan for fifty-six generations and that the name of all kings of this line began with "Vijaya". According to this tradition, it was during the reign of king Vijayasambhava, the grandson of Kustana, that Buddhism was first introduced in Khotan[15]. Ārya Vairocana, who was regarded as an incarnation of the Maitreya Buddha (future Buddha), is said to have come here from India and become king's preceptor. The Ārya is said to have miraculously brought a relic of the Buddha from Kashmir[16]. Song-Yun and Yuan-chwang also write about Ārya Vairocana's going to Khotan. According to both the pilgrims, the Ārya had gone there from Kashmir[17]. The king of Khotan is said to have built for him the great monastery of Tsar-ma— a province ...

of Khotan, where Ārya Vairocana, soon after entering Khotan, settled himself in a grove called Tsu-le (Cu-le)[18]. Thus Tsar-ma monastery, being the first Buddhist foundation in Khotan, has been dated, according to the Tibetan Annals, to 211 B.C.[19] The site of Tsar-ma has been identified with Chalma-Kazan in the neighbourhood of Yotkan[20]. The antiquity of the site is confirmed by various antiquities brought to light from there[21].

Literary Sources

According to the historical Chronicle of Ceylon, the Mahāvaṁśa, Aśoka, after convening the third Buddhist Council at Pataliputra, sent missionaries to various countries to spread the message of the Buddha[22]. Mahārakśita introduced it in the country of the Greeks in the west[23]. Literary evidence is also preserved in the Buddhist literature about the spread of Buddhism in Western Turkestan. The Sūtrālaṅkāra of Aśvaghoṣa (circa. 1st century A.D.) mentions a certain native of Puṣkarāvati (modern Charaadda) who journeyed to the site, of what later became known as Tashkent, in order to decorate a vihara[24].

Yuan Chwang makes a mention of three Aśokan stūpas which were existing in Afghanistan during his visit. First was the hundred feet high Pilusāra (Pi-lo-sho-lo) stūpa at Kapiśa (Kabul)[25]. Second, was a wonderful stone stūpa in Nagarahara near Jalalabad. This stūpa

was three hundred feet in height and was beautifully adorned and carved[26]. Third was a small stūpa which stood on the south of this prodigious monument[27].

Al-Biruni (10th century A.D.) states "In former times Khorasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul, the country upto the frontier of Syria was Buddhistic"[28].

On the basis of the above discussion, it may be concluded that Buddhism was introduced into various regions of Afghanistan mainly through the missionary zeal of king Aśoka. However, some Buddhist adepts may have found their way to these areas and beyond much earlier as these provinces alongwith the northern regions of India entered into one and the same state formations from the Achaemenian era(6th century B.C.) onwards. Consequently, close - economic, cultural and religious contacts must have obviously been existing between these regions over a considerable period of time.

Further, Buddhist missionaries and local adepts of the Buddhist faith made their appearance first in northern Afghanistan (Tokharistan) and then in the south of Western Turkestan. It was from Tokharistan that Buddhism spread westward to Parthia (Iran), therefrom to Margiana and northward to Sogdiana (Samarkand or Bokhara). Sogdians were known to Indians as Śulika and to Iranians as Sughdīk or Sūdik. They were in

close contact with India. They had also close links with Tokharistan in consequence of ancient Tokharians (Yue-Chis) having once lived in that region before occupying Tokharistan proper. Most probably Buddhism must have been introduced among Soghdians by the Tokharian monks who further spread it in various Central Asian regions where they had established colonies in the course of their trading activities. It is said that at the beginning of the Christian era there was a great number of such colonies[29].

Buddhism may have been introduced in Western Turkestan particularly its souther area during the Greaco-Bactrian rule but the formation of the Kushāṇa empire stimulated its expansion there. It may be noted here that Western Turkestan was the nucleus of the Kushāṇa dominion at the threshold of the Christian era and its maximum expansion embraced large parts of Western Turkestan, Afghanistan and Northern India. It is well known that Kushāṇa rulers were well disposed towards Buddhism.

Buddhism seems to have been primarily brought to Eastern Turkestan particularly its northern areas, i.e., Kashgar and Kucha, by way of Western Turkestan. In the southern areas Indian influence was predominent before the Christian era. The gradual process of the

penetration of Buddhism in Eastern Turkestan was thus enacted between the middle of the 1st century B.C. and the middle of the 1st century A.D.

Buddhism reached Tibet comparatively much later, in view of its geographical isolation and difficult approach. According to the available sources, Buddhism was introduced into Tibet in different stages. There is a Tibetan legend according to which, during the time of king lHa-tho-tho-ri gNyam btsan (5th century A.D.), who reigned in the neighbourhood of Yar-Klung valley, there fell a golden casket from the sky, When the casket was opened two books and a golden stūpa fell out. A voice was heard to declare that after five generations the significance of these books would be recognised[30]. Another version of the legend stated that the books were brought to the king by Pandita Buddhirakśita (bLo-sems'tsho) and the translator Li the se. Since the king could not read and understand the meaning, the pandita and translator went away[31].

On the basis of the above legend, the king to come has been identified as Srong bTsan SGam Po(7th century A.D.). It was for the first time that this king conceived the idea of reducing spoken Tibetan to a system of alphabetic writing to facilitate the coming of Buddhism from India. He sent Thon-mi Sambhota to India to learn writing and adopt it to the notation of

the Tibetan language. Two queens of the king, one from Nepal and the other from China, were both devout Buddhists. They had brought with them the images of the Buddha. The king built vihāras, viz., Jo-Khang and Ra-mo-che to house the images. The queens helped the king to introduce Buddhism in his country. The king in turn encouraged the study of Buddhism and made it a state religion. In the course of time, people started worshipping him as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara[32].

Actually Buddhism might have reached Tibet, i.e., its border regions, much earlier than its formal introduction by Srong-bTsan SGam Po. Western Tibet was colonised by Indian colonists as early as the second century B.C.[33] There are reasons to believe that Buddhism might have reached Western Tibet after the third or the fourth Buddhist Council, when the missionaries were sent in different directions for its propagation. Situated between Kashmir and Yarkand, where Buddhism reached through the missionaries sent by king Aśoka[34], Western Tibet could not have escaped the propogation of the Buddha's teachings. Also, the teaching reached China via a route along the norther and western Tibetan border regions through which Indian Panditas travelled to China. Chinese pilgrims also followed the same route to reach and return from India. The inhabitants of these border regions must have gained the knowledge through their

contacts. The traders too must have played a significant part to spread the knowledge over large areas of Tibet.

On the eastern side, references are available which tell of the infiltration of Tibetan tribes into China during the 4th century A.D., where Buddhism was already extant : "The proto-Tibetan Ti and Ch'iang tribes from the Lopnor region and western Kansu, had infiltrated from the west and were living in great numbers in eastern Kansu, Shensi and Ssu Ch'uan"[35]. Again, "Tan-i, one of Tao-an's disciples who was of Tibetan origin, had become an abbot of the important Ch'ang-sha monastery at Chaing-ling"[36]. Tan-i is also described as being wealthy and having supported poor monastic students[37]. Also, members of the Tibetan ruling family are mentioned as patrons of the Buddhist scholar Hui-yuan[38]. The well known Buddhist savant Kumārajīva is reported to have lived from the year 401 A.D. under the protection of the Tibetan ruler Yao-Hsing who conquered the Later Liang[39]. So, Eastern Tibet must have come into contact with Buddhism during the 4th century A.D.

In conclusion, the knowledge of Buddhism existed in Tibet before the time of the king Lha tho-tho ri and even after him. But throygh the patronage of king Sron-bTsan-sgam-po it received an official introduction in Tibet. Buddhism could not take roots into the

soil without facing some obstacles. The followers of the traditional Bon faith continously opposed it causing set-backs to its growth and development. Under such circumstances Buddhism was revived through the efforts of Indian savants Śantirakśita and Padmasambhava under king Tri song-Dctsam during the middle of the 8th century A.D.[40]. Finally, with the arrival of Dipaṇkaraśrījñāna (Atiśa) from Vikramasila during the 11th century A.D., Buddhism became an effective faith in Tibet[41].

- 0 -

1. Srivastava, S.K., Trade of India, Delhi, 1956,p.20; Agarwala, P.N., History of Indian Business, New Delhi, 1985, p.1.

2. Amulyachandra, Sen, Aśoka's Edicts, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 66-67; 74-76; also cf. pp. 24-27; 98-105(Rock Edict XIII);
Raychaudhuri, H.C., Political History of Ancient India, (6th edition), University of Calcutta, 1953,pp.307-308; 331-332.

3. Journal Asiatique, CCXLXI, 1958, pp.1-48 vide Hambly, Gavin, Central Asia, The weidenfeld and Nicolson University History, p.31;;
also cf. The Greek Version of the Kandahar Bilingual Inscription of Aśoka, vide The Aśokāvadāna,(ed.) Mukhopadhyaya, Sujitkumar, New Delhi,1963,pp.154-156.

4. Academic des Inscriptions et belles - letters (comptes rendus) vide Hambly, Gavin, op.cit., p.31.

5. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, XIII, 1949, pp.80-88 vide Hambly, Gavin, op.cit., p.31.

Litvinsky, B.A., Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia,

6. Kushan Studies in USSR, Soviet Indology series No.3, 1970, p.5[illegible].

7. Bagchi, P.C., India and Central Asia, Calcutta, 1955, p.39.

8. Litvinsky, B.A., Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia, Kushan Studies in USSR, pp.62-63.

9. Nobel, Johannes, Central Asia the Connecting Link Between East and West, Nagpur, 1952, p.50; Majumdar, R.C., The Age of Imperial Unity, Bhartiya Vidhya Bhawan series, vol.II, pp.638, 639.

10. Bagchi, P.C., India and China, Calcutta, 1981, pp.1, 3-4.

11. Bagchi, P.C., India and Central Asia, pp.58, 59.

12. Watters, Thomas, On Yuan Chwang's travels in India, vol.I, pp.111-112; Hui li, The Life of Hsuan-Tsiang, London, 1911, p.50.

13. Rockhill, W.W., The Life of the Buddha, London, 1907, pp. 232 ff.; Stein, A., Ancient Khotan, Oxford, 1907, p.159.

14. Biswas, D.K., Legend of Emperor Aśoka in Indian and Chinese Texts, Calcutta, 1967, pp.112-113.

15. Bagchi, P.C., India and Central Asia, pp.50-51.

16. ibid., p.51.

17. ibid.; Beals, S., Si-Yu-ki, vol.I, p.312

18. Bagchi, P.C., India and Central Asia, p.51; Beals, S., op.cit., p.316.

19. Bagchi, P.C., India and Central Asia, p.51.

20. Stein, A., op.cit., pp. 233-234.

21. ibid.

22. Mahāvaṁśo, (ed.), Bhagwat, N.K., ch.12, verses 1-2;

"थेरो मोग्गलिपुत्तो सो जिनसासनजोतको ।
निट्ठापेत्वान तं सङ्गीतिं पेक्खमानो अनागतं ।
सासनस्स पतिट्ठानं पच्चन्तेसु अपेक्खया ।
पेसेसि कत्तिके मासे ते ते थेरे तहिं तहिं ।।

23. Mahāvaṁśo, ch.12, verse-5 :

"-------- महारक्खितथेरं तु योनलोकमेसयि ";

also cf. Geiger, op.cit., p.82.

24. cf. Litvinsky, op.cit., p.65.

25. Watters, Thomas, op.cit., p.129.

26. ibid., p.183.

27. ibid.,

28. Sachau, E.C., Alberuni's India, vol.I, London,1888, p.21.

29. Bagchi, P.C., India and Central Asia, p.39.

30. Obermiller, E., History of Buddhism by Bu-Ston, pp. 182, 193;
Roerich, G.N., The Blue Annals, Delhi, 1979, p.38;
also cf. Dargyay Eva M., The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet, Delhi, 1977, p.4.

31. Roerich, op.cit., pp. 38-39.

32. ibid., pp. 39-40;
Sankrityayana, Rahul, Tibet men Baudh Dharma (in Hindi) Allahabad, 1948, pp.5-9.

33. Franke, A.N., A History of Western Tibet,London,p.20.

34. Mahāvaṁśo., ch.12.

35. Zürcher, E., The Buddhist Conquest of China, Leiden, 1972, vol.I, p.81.

36. ibid., pp. 199, 279.

37. ibid., p.240

38. ibid., p.212.

39. ibid., p.226.

40. Roerich, op.cit., pp.43-44;
Sankrityayana, op.cit., pp. 10-18.

41. Roerich., op.cit., pp.241 ff.;
Sankrityayan, op.cit., p.36.

- 0 -

CHAPTER .. III

Progress of Buddhism in Central Asia

PROGRESS OF BUDDHISM

It was during the 4th century B.C.(304 B.C.) that Seleucus Nikator the general of Alexander the great ceded north-western provinces of India to Chandragupta Maurya[1]. These provinces included western Kandahar and Herat[2]. Aśoka the great inherited all these territories within his empire from his grandfather[3]. Thus the empire of Aśoka had reached the natural frontiers of India. Being a devout Buddhist, Aśoka's mission of regligious conquest (dharma-vijaya)did not reach only the frontier countries but also distant kingdoms beyond the frontiers[4]. There would be no exaggeration in saying that through the missionary zeal of king Aśoka, Buddhism attained a position such as it never held again. After king Aśoka the Mauryan empire started to disintegrate which gave rise to foreign settlements. These successive settlements took place along the routes leading from Bactria (north Afghanistan) over the Hindukush into the valley of Kabul and consequently reaching north western India. These foreign settlements were the Greeks, the nomadic tribes from Central Asia, viz., the Śakas (Scythians); the Pahlavas (Parthians); the Kushāṇas (Yue-chi) and the Huns (Hiuen nus). As is evident that by coming

in contact with India the foreign rulers were greatly influenced by the culture of India. Buddhism also received the attention under their regime. Excepting Pahlavas, who ruled over India only for a few years and the Hunas who are depicted as devotees of Śiva and again, who were not well disposed towards Buddhism, all other foreign rulers had a deep impression of the religion of Buddha. Under this background the following account will concentrate upon the progress of Buddhism under these foreign rulers.

Bactrian and Indo-Greeks

The teachings of Buddha seem to have appealed the Greek mind very early. There is an evidence preserved in the Mahāvaṁśa according to which after convening the 3rd Buddhist Council at Patliputra, missionaries were sent by the king Aśoka in different directions.[5] It was Yona Dhammarakkita (Greek monk) who was deputed to the Aparantaka country (the western country) to introduce the religion of the Buddha[6]. Cunningham identifies Aparantaka with the Apanchha or Northern Sindh of Yuan-chwang[7]. Hence is proved that there were already Greek subjects present within the empire of king Aśoka which extended upto Hindukush range. The fact is strengthened by the bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Aramaic of Aśoka found in Kandahar region of Afghanistan[8]. It seems that Aśoka might have got the inscriptions written in Greek

and Aramaic for the benefit of his Greek and also Iranian subjects. However, it was after Aśoka's sending of religious missions that the foundation of a closer relation between the Greeks and the Indians was laid over the north-western frontier of India. The Greeks who had first settled in Bactria moved towards India after the fall of the Mauryan empire. They adopted Indian culture and also carried it across the frontiers to the Barbarian hordes of the Central Asian steppes.

After the Greeks were ousted from Bactria by the Śakas they continued to rule in central and southern Afghanistan and north-western India. It took place during the two centuries that followed the down-fall of the Mauryan empire.[9] During this period, more than thirty names of Indo-Bactrian Greek rulers are known from their coins[10]. Among these rulers, there is a stūpa on the coin of Agathocles[11]. No other evidence proves his Buddhist disposition. There are the coins of Menander[12] which bear a Buddhist symbol on them, i.e., the wheel (Dharmacakra). Menander was greatly associated with Buddhism. He had found a prominent place in Indian Buddhist tradition as recorded in the Millindapañha. Millinda being the Indian name for Menander. The Millindapañha is a famous Buddhist text composed in the form of a dialogue between king Menander and the Buddhist ascetic Nāgasena. According to this

text the king approached ascetic in order to satisfy his curiousty regarding the true essence of the religion of the Buddha[13]. Having satisfied all his curiousties through the appealing answers of Nāgasena, Menander was highly greatful to him. He was filled with spiritual joy and prayed Nāgasena to accept him as a lay disciple (upāsaka). Thus the king was converted to Buddhism. He built a monastery named Millinda vihāra which he handed over to Nāgasena. It is also said that towards the end of his life Menander handed over his kingdom to his son and he attained the state of sanctification (arhatship)[14].

According to the Greek historian Plutarch[15], Menander's death occured in a camp. At the time of his death diverse cities contended for the possession of his ashes. These ashes were divided and a Memorial was erected upon each of them. How far this report is authentic, there is no other evidence to prove it. However, the same evidence is reported to have taken place at the time of the Buddha's parinirvāna[16].

Due to the scarcity of reliable sources, there are diverse opinions regarding the date of king Menander. Relying upon the Millindapañha which states that king Millinda lived five hundred years after the parinirvāna of the Buddha[17], the date may be put in or about the 1st century B.C. It is interesting to note on the

authority of the Millindapañha[18] that Menander was born in a village called Kalasi (Kalasigāmo)in the dvīpa (Doab) of Alasanda (Alexandria near Kabul) modern Kandahar. His capital was Sakala which has been identified with the modern Sialkot in the Panjab. Menander's dominions comprised the central parts of Afghanistan, north-west frontier province, the Panjab, Sindh, Rajputana, Kathiawar. Probably, also a portion of the western Utter Pradesh. As these places have yielded the coins of Menander bearing the inscription "Basileus Soteror Menandros" (the king Menander the saviour).

The Shinkot inscription[19] proves that Menander helped in the propogation of Buddhism in the region between the Hindukush and Sindh. The Shinkot (steatite) casket contains two groups of Kharosthī inscriptions. It was discovered in the Bajaur tribal teritory about twenty miles to the west of the confluence of the Panjkora and the Swat. The earlier inscription refers to the reign of Menander. There are said to have been installed in the casket some relics of Śākyamuni Buddha for worship. The inscription points to Menander's hold over the Peshwar region and possibly also over the upper Kabul valley.

Allama Iqbal Library
Theses
Acc No. R.2.569

Śaka (Scythians)

The original habitat of the Śakas (Scythians) is unknown. However, the tribe is reported to have inhabited the northern region of Asia and Europe[20]. The description of Scythian territories as given by Herodotus[21] and Ptolemy[22] differ proving that the tribe moved from place to place. The archaeological evidences[23] prove that they, very early inhabited the region to the north of the Caucasus in the Eurasian steppes. In the 7th century B.C. various tribes of the Śaka horde dwell in the region spread over the Carpathian and the north of the Caspian to the Oxus, Jaxertes, Altai and the borders of China[24]. The migration of Scythian hordes from the Central Asian steppes to the west seem to have taken place much earlier. But it was only after the 3rd century B.C. that the migration affected the history of China, Central Asia, Persia and also India[25]. According to Chinese sources[26], a tribe known as Hiung-nu (Huns) initially started the movement. According to the Chinese works, viz., Shi-ki and T'sien-han-shu the Hunish king Chi-yu defeated the Yueh-chis. The Yueh-chis at that time occupied the extreme eastern and north-eastern parts of Kashgaria. This was the region adjoining the Hunnish dominions in Mongolia. After receiving defeat at the hands of Huns the Yueh-chis moved towards west and thus set in motion all other nomadic tribes. A branch

of the Yueh-chis known as the great Yuech-chis fell upon the Śakas of Jaxartes[27]. Thus the Śakas were scattered and some of them moving towards south, ruled over Ki-pin the region identified with Kashmir and portions of the Panjab plains[28]. Rest of the Śakas being scattered, formed several kingdoms. One branch seems to have reached Iran. From eastern Iran some of the Śaka tribes entered India through Kabul or Bolan pass, leading over Brahui mountains into the country of the lower Indus. This region came to be known as Indo-Scythia. The Śakas uprooted Indo-Greeks from Bactria. The first Iranian Śaka who ruled in India was Maues. His date has been put at the close of the 1st century B.C.[29] Thus the Śakas reached India in two bands, one through Kashmir route and the other through Eastern Iran. The Śakas establishing themselves in Indo-Scythia ruled at Taxila and also a large territory extending over most of the Panjab. They also settled in Western India and Middle India. They founded a kingdom at Mathura as well. It was at the instance of the Guptas during the 4th century A.D. who subdued them after ruling in different parts of India for about three centuries[30].

References to the Śakas are found in various Sanskrit, Jain and Buddhist sources[31]. The Sanskrit sources go back to the age of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata proving the connections between the Śakas

and India much earlier.

Having set their foot in India the Śakas adopted Indian culture and followed Indian religions. From the monuments and inscriptions of the age, discovered at Taxila, Mathura and other places, it is evident that the tribe mainly followed the Buddhist religion. Hinduism and Jainism too were definitely in vouge. Some of the Śaka inscriptions, recording the Buddhist endowments are given below.

The copper plate inscription of Taxila records a gift of Patika, son of Liaka Kusulaka, a Śaka satrap, to a Buddhist Saṅghārāma. He also dedicates a relic of Śākyamuni[32].

One of the Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions records that the Śaka reuler Rajubula's queen consort Nadari Kasa, alongwith the crowd of the women of the harem deposited a relic of divine Śākyamuni Buddha and assigned the stūpa and a vihāra probably called the Guhāvihāra, to the community of the Sarvāstivādin monks[33].

A relic of the Buddha was dedicated at Mathura by Rajubula's queen Ayasia Kamnia and a gift of land was made by her son Śodasa[34].

One of the Śaka rulers was Nahapana. His son-in-law named Rsabhadatta was called a religious man. He was equally tolerant towards Buddhism and

Brāhmanism. He made gifts to Buddhists and also made arrangements for the livelihood of Buddhist monks[35]. The Nasik cave inscription No.10 records his donating a field to congregation of monks of the four quarters[36]. Again, the Nasik cave inscription No.12 records his donating three thousand Karshapanas for the benefit of the Buddhist monks of any sect and any origin dwelling in the cave[37]. Kanheri inscription, Lüders No.1099 records his gift of the village of Karajika to the monks residing in the caves at Valuraka for the support of the Saṁgha of the four quarters[38].

Another Nasik inscription No.15 dated in the 9th year of the king Iswarasena who ruled in the 3rd century A.D. records providing medicine for the sick of the Saṁgha of monks of whatever sect and origin dwelling in this monastery on mount Trirasmi. The object of endowment was to make a permanent provision for medicine that the ailing monks of the monastery might need[39].

The Kushāna (Yueh-chis)

Yueh-chi tribe originally inhabited the northern part of the Tarim Basin i.e., Chinese Turkestan including the province of Kansu upto Leang Chou[40]. It was in 176 B.C. that the Huns (Hiung-nu) appearing in the western side of China ousted Yueh-chis from Kansu. Thus Yueh-chis were divided into two sections -- the Siao-Yueh-chi (small Yueh-chi) and Ta Yueh-chi (great

Yueh-chi). The great Yueh-chis following the north-western route occupied Ili region. Being ousted from the Ili region by another nomadic tribe Wu-sun, they moved further westward coming to the country of Ta-yuan which corresponds to the region of Fergana. Yueh-chis ousted the Śakas from Transoxiana and occupied it about 160 B.C. They also occupied Oxus valley soon after and also the Kabul and finally north-western India. They founded a mighty empire under the rulers of the Kushāṇa (Kuei-shuang) dynasty which lasted till about the 3rd century A.D.[41]. In Indian literature Kushāṇas are known as Tushāra or Tukhāra[42]. Purāṇas record that the Tushāra kings succeded the Yavanas and fourteen of their rulers ruled for more than a hundred years[43]. The name Tukhara also appears in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and in two old Buddhist texts -- the Sadharma - Smrityupasthāna and the Mahāmayūrī[44].

Buddhism received patronage under the Kushāṇa chiefs in India and saw its wider expansion across Central Asia. There are definite evidences drawn from numismatic, epigraphic, archaeological and literary sources of the time proving the establishment of Buddhism in the domain of Kushāṇa chiefs. Following discussion aims to study some of these sources to trace the progress of Buddhism during the period under review.

Numismatic Sources : The figure of Buddha has been depicted on the coins of the first Kushāṇa chief Kujula Kadphises[45]. Some of his coins also bear the legend in Khorosthī -- "Sachadharmathitasa" meaning "steadfast in true law"[46]. Sachadharma (the true law) denotes the law of the Buddha as the references of it found in early Buddhist texts and inscriptions. Sachadharmathitasa also occurs in a late inscription of the time of Kaniṣka[47]. Buddha is also found on gold and silver coins of Kaniṣka[48], who was a great patron of Buddhism.

Epigraphic Sources : There is ample material drawn from epigraphic sources which throw much light upon the development of Buddhism during the time of Kushāṇas. The inscriptions, both in Kharosthī and Brāhmī scripts, recording the donations made by individual donors of the Kushāṇa dynasty are dated from the year 1 to 98. There are many references to the dedications of Buddhist cult objects. These inscriptions record the Buddhist donations made during the time of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, Vasudeva, Kaniṣka-II and Vaskushāṇa Vasiṣka. There are also the references to other such inscriptions of the period but without a precise date[49].

KANIṢKA : Kaniṣka's reign particularly marks an epoch in the development of Buddhism. From his inscriptions, Kaniṣka's empire appears to have extended as far as

Benaras in the east and Bhawalpur in the south-west. There is the Kaniṣka casket inscription of the year 1 in Kharoṣṭhī. This relic casket was found in a stūpa located at Shah-ji-kidheri at Peshwar. The casket decorated with a series of three seated Buddha figures records its dedication by Agisala the architect (Navakarmika) in Kaniṣka's vihāra and Mahāsena's Saṅghārāma for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins.[50] There are other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Kaniṣka's era. First is the Zeda (Und) inscription of the year 11 which records the dedication for the increase of the Sarvāstivādins[51]. Second is the Manikiala (Rawalpindi) inscription of the year 18 recording the establishment of several relics of the Lord Buddha by Lala, a decendant of the Kushāṇa family alongwith vihāra architect named Burita[52]. Third one is the Kurram casket inscription of the year 20. This inscription also records the establishment of relics of the Lord Śākyamuni in his own grove for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teachers. It also contains Pratītya Samutpāda written by Mahipati[53].

There are some inscriptions of the Kaniṣaka's era written in the Brāhmī script which record the Buddhist dedications. Earliest is the Kosam Bodhisattva inscription of the year 2 recording the erection of the statue by the nun Bodhimitra[54]. There are two other donations of Bodhisattva statues made by Friar Bala.

First is the Sarnath Bodhisattva inscription of the year 3. It records dedicating the statue with umbrella at Benaras where the Lord used to walk[55]. Second, the Sahet - Mahet Bodhisattva inscription recording dedication of the statue with an umbrella and a shaft at Sravasti in the Kosambakuti[56]. Other inscriptions of Kaniṣka are from Mathura. These are :

a) Buddhist image pedestal inscription of the year 8. It is a gift of nun Buddhadāsi[57].

b) Kamskhar (Mathura) Bodhisattva image pedestal inscription of the year 10. Dedicated by monk Nāgadatta to the Krausthikiya vihāra[58].

c) Mathura stone pedestal inscription of the year 20. It records the setting up of a Bodhisattva image[59].

d) Mathura Āyagapata (tablet of homage) inscription of the year 21. Dedicated for the worship of the arhats[60].

e) Mathura (Mat) Bodhisattva inscription of the year 23, the statue set up by Pushyadatta[61].

f) Mathura fragmentary seated Bodhisattva image of the year 28[62].

Thus appears that the Sarvāstivāda - an important school of the Theravāda Buddhism was in vogue during the time of Kaniṣka. The cult of Bodhisattva had also developed proving the existence of the Mahāyāna Buddhism side by side.

HUVISKA : Kaniṣka most probably ruled till the year 28 of his era and was followed by his son Huviṣka whose inscriptions are found from the year 28-62. Although inclined towards Brahmanism, he was equally tolerant towards Buddhism and patronised it. The Mathura Buddhist inscription on the base of a pillar of the year 47 in brāhmī script records the gift of a monk Jīvaka, a native of Uddiyana to the vihāra of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Huviṣka[63]. There is also a Kharosthī inscription of the time of Huviṣka. It is the Wardhak inscription of the year 51 which records the establishment of the relics of Lord Śākyamuni in the Vajramarega vihāra, in a stūpa at Khwat. This vihāra was for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghika teachers[64]. Other Brāhmī inscriptions of the time of Huviṣka bearing the Buddhist donations are :

a) Mathura Buddha image pedestal inscription of the year 31 [65].

b) Mathura (Chaubara mound, now Lucknow Museum) inscription of the year 33. It records setting of a Bodhisattva image by the nun Dhanavati[66].

c) Mathura (now Indian Museum, Calcutta) Buddhist inscription on the base of a pillar of the year 35 dedicated by monk Buddha[67].

d) Lakham image inscription of the year 35 [68].

e) Mathura image inscription of the year 35. The Bodhisattva image set up by the nun Dhanavati [69].

f) Bombay University Library Buddhist image inscription of the year 45. It records the installation of an image of Bhagavata Śākyamuni in Rosika vihāra by the female lay worshipper (upāsikā) Khvasichā[70].

g) Mathura Buddhist inscription on the base of a pillar of the year 47. A gift of monk Dharmadeva[71].

h) Mathura (Jail Mound, now Lucknow Museum) Buddhist image inscription of the year 50 [72].

i) Mathura Buddhist image inscription of the year 51 recording the setting up of the image[73].

Thus the records make it clear that Huviṣka ensured full freedom to the followers of Buddhism and its progress was unabated.

VĀSUDEVA : Vāsudevaś inscriptions range from 67-98 of the Kushāṇa era. His inscriptions are mostly recorded on the Jain dedications. Indeed, there are some Buddhist too, to ensure the progress of Buddhism even during his time. There is the Mathura (Palkhera) Buddha image inscription of the year 67 of Vāsudeva recording the installation of the image for the acceptance of the Mahāsaṅghikas[74]. Another Mathura(Jail Mound, now Indian Museum,Calcutta), Buddhist inscription of the year 77 records dedidation of the base of a pillar to the vihāra of Mahārāja Devaputra Huviṣka by the monk Jīvaka, inhabitant of Uddhiyana[75]. It appears that Jīvaka was the same monk who, thirty years back, in the time of Huviṣka had made the donation to

the vihāra of Huviṣka. It is interesting to note that the day and the month of both the donations of the monk Jīvaka are the same. There are two other inscriptions of the year 77 recording the donations made of the base of pillars[76]. First, also records the name of the donor as Dharmadeva.

Vāsudeva was the last Kushāṇa chief of the Kaniṣkaś family. In the inscription of Sassanid Viceroy Shapur-I, written probably towards 262-63 A.D. there is a reference to the country of the Kushāṇas which was annexed by Shapur-I. A destruction in two ancient cities of Sogdiana country was attested by the Soviet archaeologists and the above mentioned inscription refers to Shapur-I having conquered those two cities. The coins found at the site also suggest their destruction at the same time and under the same Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva-I[77]. Thus proving the end of the Kaniṣkaś family of Kushāṇa dynasty in the time of Vāsudeva-I.

LATER KUSHĀṆAS : Shapur-I conquered the kingdom of Kushāṇas and took the city of Peshawar and also the Kushāṇa posessions of Sindh etc., Later Kushāṇas emerged as new ruling family at Begram and in India covering the period between the imperial Kushāṇas and the Guptas[78]. The records of this period also ensure the development of Buddhism.

KANIṢKA-II : The Mathura pedestal inscription of the year 14 of Mahārāja Devaputra Kaniṣka was found in an enclosed part of the Dalpat-ki-Khirki Mohalla. It records the setting up of the image of Buddha by Saṅghiḷa on the 10th day of the month of Pausha[79]. The Buddha is for the first time mentioned as Deva. It is the first Kushāṇa record in which the month is quoted by the Hindu solar name. The paleography of the record brings it closer to the eastern variety of Gupta script.

VASKUSHĀṆA - VASIṢKA : The first record of this ruler is dated in the year 22. The inscription is recorded on the pedestal of the standing image of the Buddha from Sañchī. It records the dedication of the image of Bhagavat Śākyamuni by Vidyā[80]. Another inscription from the same place is found on the pedestal of a seated Bodhisattva figure in dhyānamudrā. It records the installation of the image of Bhagvat Bodhisattva by Madhurikā, daughter of Vīra in the year 28.[81]

Undated Buddhist Inscription of the Kushāṇa Period

KHAROṢTHĪ RECORDS : The Mathura Lion Capital inscription of the time of Śodaṣa records the coming of a dialectician (Khalula) from the Sarvāstivādin head-quarters at Nagara in Jalalabad (Afghanistan) to Mathura to counteract the propogation of the

Mahāsāṅghikas[82]. Another inscription from Kalwan records the deposit of relics for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins[83]. One more Kharosthī inscription of the period records donation of a water well by Śāhī Yola Mīra, the master of the vihāra in his own vihāra for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teachers.[84]

BRĀHMĪ RECORDS : An inscription engraved on a pedestal of an image records its dedication for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins[85]. Anyor (Mathura) Bodhisattva inscription also records the setting up of the image for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins[86]. Two more inscriptions from Mathura record setting up of the Bodhisattva and Buddha images respectively[87]. There are three more Buddhist inscriptions from Mathura[88]. First records the gift for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghika teachers. Second is the dedication in the Āpanka vihāra for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghikas. Third inscription records dedication by Nāgapriyā, wife of trader (vanika) Dharmākśa. It was for the acceptance of the Dharmaguptika teachers, the school closely allied to Sarvāstivādins. Another undated inscription from Sañchī records the installation of the image of Bodhisattva Maitreya[89].

Thus, on the basis of the epigraphic records it is evident that Buddhism prevailed throughout the Kushāṇa epoch from Balkh to Bihar. It developed in the form of Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsāṅghika schools.

Sarvāstivāda school, however, was dominating. Frequent dedications of Bodhisattva images and further the mention of Buddha as Bhagavat and deva refer to the development of Mahāyānism.

Archaeological Sources

The archaeological expeditions led by Sir Aurel Stein, Grünwedel, Von Locoq and Paul Pelliot in the deserts of Eastern Turkestan and by Soviet scholars in Western Turkestan have yielded a number of monuments, articles of cult, inscriptions, remnants of art and literature belonging to Kushāṇa period, proving the spread of Buddhism in the areas of their discovery. The literary finds from Eastern Turkestan are written in Indian scripts, i.e., Kharosthī and Brāhmī. Kharosthī was a common script of north-western India from the time of king Aśoka upto the end of the Kushāṇa period i.e., 3rd century A.D.[90] During the centuries 1st to 3rd A.D. Kharosthī script was in use in the southern states of Eastern Turkestan from Khotan to Kroraina (Loulan) in the Labnor region. There are a few Buddhist fragmentary texts, amongst the finds. The two birchbark mansucripts brought from Khotan by a french traveller contained manuscripts of a new version of Dhammapada written in Kharosthī script of the 2nd century A.D. This is similar to the script used in north western India

under the Kushāṇas[91].

A Soviet expedition in Western Turkestan has discovered in old Termez Buddhist monuments, i.e., the Zulmara stūpa and Kara-Tepe caves of the Kushāṇa period.[92] Another Soviet expedition discovered near the Dalverzin-Tepe town site, a Buddhist temple of the Kushāṇa period depicting the terracotta sculpture of the Buddha[93]. Further research on Kara-Tepe hill have yielded many Buddhist cult objects, Kushāṇa coins and inscriptions[94]. In Khorezm have been found the terracottas of Bodhisattvas and replicas of the Buddhist stūpa.[95]

Literary Sources

The literature of the Kushāṇa period is popularly known as Sanskrit Buddhist literature. This category of works include : The Mahāvastu[96]; The Lalitavistara[97]; The Avadānaśataka[98]; The Divyāvadāna[99] and the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka[100]. Aśvaghoṣa was a contemporary of Kaniṣka[101]. His works viz., the Buddhacarita; the Saundarānanda and the Śāriputraprakaraṇa also come under this category. The Buddhist Sanskrit literature of this period is of great significance because it was for the first time that the literature was written in Sanskrit. All earlier literature being written in Pāli. The Sanskrit literature only makes the new interpretation of the old ideas. There existed both

the schools i.e., the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna. The latter being greatly influenced by Brāhmanism. It seems that the literature of this period aimed at popularising the new trend in Buddhism with particular reference to the life of Buddha and the legends and characters associated with him.

Buddhism During the Days of Fa-Hien (399-414 A.D.)

LOU-LAN : The king of this country was a Buddhist and there lived more than four thousand monks in the kingdom. All belonged to the Hīnayāna school of Buddhism. Fa-Hien states that in the whole region, masses of other kingdoms and monks followed the religion of India. Also, the monks studied Indian books and language[102].

KARASHAHR (woo-e) : Here too Fa-hien found over four thousand monks, all belonging to the Hīnayāna. They strictly followed the vinaya rules for which the Chinese monks were not competent. The pilgrim found the people of this country inhospitable. It was through the management of a person named Foo Kung-sun that Fa-hien could stay in a monastery for more than two months[103].

KHOTAN (Yu-teen) : All the inhabitants of this country followed the religion of Buddha. They were fond of Buddhist religious music. Monks numbered

several tens of thousands. Most of them belonged to the Mahāyāna. All monks lived together. Every family in this country had a small tope built before the door of the house. They also,used to make rooms for travelling monks who were provided with all their requirements.

Fa-hien was lodged by the king of this country in the monastery called Gomati which belonged to Mahāyāna school. There were three thousand monks attached to itwho followed a strick discipline. Fa-hien stayed here longer, wishing to see the procession of images which was to start after about three months. He gives a full description of this procession in which the king also took part. A four wheeled image car was made, the chief image (of the Buddha) stood in the middle with two Bodhisattvas. There were (four according to Legge and fourteen according to Giles) large monasteries besides smaller ones. Every monastery took seperate procession. The procession of the Gomati vihāra took the lead as this monastery was held in graat reverance.

Fa-hien further noted, what was called the king's New Monastery. It took eighty years and reigns of three kings to complete it. It was adorned with gold and silver and the kings of the six countries on the east of Ts'ung range (Boler Tagh range) made large offerings[104].

KARGHALIK (Tsze-hoh) : The king here, was devoted to Buddhism and there were more than one thousand monks. Most of them belonging to Mahāyāna[105].

KASHGAR (K'eeh-châ) : Here, Fa-hien found the king holding the Pañcaparishad (ecclesiastical conference). The king called the monks from all quarters of his kingdom, who came in large numbers. The place of assembly was greatly decorated. The king and his ministers made offerings according to rite.

Fa-hien states that there was a spittoon of the Buddha which was made of stone. There was a tooth of Buddha in a tope made for it. There were more than a thousand monks, all belonging to Hīnayāna. To the east of the hills, the Śramaṇas observed varied rules[106].

DAREL (T'o-leih or Dardistan) : Here were many monks belonging to Hīnayāna. Fa-hien heard a story about the image of Maitreya Bodhisattva which he saw here. Fa-hien relates as : formerly there was an arhat, who through his supernatural powers took a clever artist to the Tushita heaven to see Maitreya Bodhisattva, so that on returning back he could make an image of him. The artist had to take three journeys after which he could make the image eighty cubits(feet) in height and eight cubits (feet) across folded legs. Fa-hien says that the image would shed bright light

on fast days and the kings of the surrounding countries would vie with each other to make offerings to it[107].

GILGIT[108] : The monks of this place enquired from Fa-hien, when the Buddhism had first went to the east. The pilgrim said that it was since the setting up of the image of Maitreya Bodhisattva i.e., according to Fa-hien 300 years after the nirvāna of the Buddha[109].

UDYĀNA (Woo-chang) : Here, Buddhism was in a very flourishing condition. Fa-hien states that there were five hundred monasteries and the monks belonged to Hīnayāna. He states a tradition according to which, when the Buddha came to north India he visited this country. He left a print of his foot here which appeared long or short according to the faith of a person and the same remained the case till the time of Fa-hien's visit. The pilgrim also noted here the rock, on which the Buddha had dried his clothes and the place where he had converted the wicked dragon. Fa-hien stayed here to keep the summer retreat[110].

SOO-HO-TO (Spot between Indus and Swat) : Here too Buddhism was flourishing. Fa-hien heard a legend of the Buddha when he was a Bodhisattva. The story runs as : "Ruler of devas" tried the Bodhisattva by causing

the appearance of a hawk in pursuit of a dove. The Bodhisattva cut of a piece of his flesh to release the dove. When the Buddha after attaining wisdom passed through the place he related to his disciples the episode. Fa-hien says that knowing the significance of the place people erected a tope at the place which was adorned with gold and silver[111].

GĀNDHĀRA : Fa-hien says that Buddha here, as a Bodhisattva had sacrificed his eyes and a tope was erected at the spot. The Buddhists here mostly followed the Hīnayāna[112].

TAKSHAŚILA : Fa-hien relates a legend according to which the Buddha as a Bodhisattva had given away his head for which the kingdom got its name. At a two days distance there was another place where the Bodhisattva is said to have given his body to feed a hungry tiger. At the both places, Fa-hien says, where the Buddha gave sacrifices, the topes were built[113].

PURUSHAPURA (Peshawar) : Fa-hien says that here were more than seven hundred monks. He speaks of another legend in which the Buddha makes a prophecy of Kaniṣkaś making a tope after his (Buddha's) parinirvāna. Fa-hien also saw there the Buddha's alms bowl. He says that in the former times a king of Yueh-chis who was a Buddhist, wished to carry away the bowl. As the bowl could not be carried away, the

king finding himself unfit to possess the bowl felt ashamed. He built a tope and a monastery on the spot and left a guard to keep watch on the bowl[114].

NAGARAHĀRA : At Hidda in the border country of Nagarahara there was a shrine over five feet high. It contained flat-bone of the Buddha's skull which was adorned by all. The king honoured it and had kept a guard for it. Fa-hien relates in detail the worship of it by the natives. The kings of various countries sent offerings for it.

On the north, at the distance of one yojana in the capital of Nagarahara the Buddha as Bodhisattva once bought five stalks of flowers to make offering to Dipaṅkara Buddha (Buddha's twenty-fourth predecessor). In the centre of the city was the tope of the Buddha's tooth. Here, the offerings were made in the same way as to his skull bone.

One yojana to the north-east there was the Buddha's pewter staff sixteen or seventeen feet long. Offerings were made to the shrine here too. Fa-hien also found at a little distance from here the Buddha's saṅghāṭī and a vihāra, where the offerings were made. He states that whenever there was a draught, people in crowds brought out the robe to worship it and to make offerings in consequence rain would fall in abundance.

Half a yojana to the south of the city of

Nagarahara was a cave. It's front side was towards the south-west. It was here that the Buddha left his shadow. On looking at it at a distance of more than ten paces the Buddhaś real form could be seen. The nearer one would approach, the fainter the form would become. Fa-hien says that the kings from the regions all around tried to get a copy made through the artists but in vain. Also, that there was a tradition among the people of the country as "the thousand Buddhas must all leave a shadow here".

More than four hundred paces west from the shadow, there was a spot where the Buddha had shaven his hair and cut his nails and with the help of his disciples built a tope. The tope was seventy or eighty feet high to be a model for all future topes. Fa-hien also saw this tope. By the side of the tope was a monastery in which were more than seven hundred monks. Here were thousand topes of arhats and Buddhist saints[115].

AFGHANISTAN (Lo-e— a portion of Afghanistan) : Here the pilgrim found about three thousand monks belonging to both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna schools. He kept here the summer retreat[116].

Buddhism During the Days Of Yuan Chwang (629-645 A.D.)

AGNIDEŚA or KARASHAHR (O-ki-ni or Wu-ki) : The first Central Asian country through which Yuan-chwang passed, was Agnideśa (O-ki-ni or Wu-ki) which has been identified as Karashahr. He noticed here about ten monasteries and more than two thousand monks. All belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school of Hīnayāna and followed India for sūtra teachings and vinaya rules. They had the Indian literature to make thorough study of the sūtra and the vinaya sections and strictly observed the rules of their order. But, the pilgrim adds, they took three kinds of pure flesh[117] being still i.e., as late as the 7th century A.D. held by the Hīnayānists[118]. Watters states that one of the large monasteries in this country was known as the Aranya-vihāra where the Indian scholar Dharmagupta lodged in the year 585 A.D. while on his way to China[119].

KUCHA (K'iu-chi or Kuchê) : At the time of Yuan-chwang's visit this country was a flourishing centre of Buddhist studies. There were about one hundred monasteries and five thousand monks. They were the adherents of the Sarvāstivāda (Shwo-yih-tsai-yu-po) school. They studied the texts of their religion in the language of India and were very punctual in following the rules of the vinaya. But they only took the three pure kinds of flesh. The pilgrim further

states that about 40 li north of this desert city there were two monasteries. The monasteries bore the same name distinguished as eastern Chao-hu-li and western Chao-hu-li. The images of the Buddha in these monasteries were very beautiful and the monks were strict followers of the vinaya. They were enthusiastically devoted to their religion. In the eastern monastery, Yuan-chwang noticed in the Buddha-hall a slab of Jade-stone which was about two feet in height. There was an impression of Buddha's foot on it. It emitted bright light on fast days.

Outside the western gate of the capital there were two standing Buddha images which were about ninty feet high. This was the place where the great quinquennial Buddhist assembly was held and it was here that the annual autumn religious meetings of monks and laity from all parts of the country took place. The meeting lasted for ten days. The king and his subjects attended the meeting while abstaining from other work, keeping fast and listening the religious discources.

Yuan-chwang also noticed here the procession of images in which all the monasteries took part with their own Buddha images, which were highly adorned and borne on vehicles. A large number of people flocked to the meeting place of the procession. To

the north-west of the meeting place, on crossing a river there was a monastery called A-shê-li-yi. It had big space and beautifully carved Buddha images. The dignified monks of this monastery were the seekers of great learning and intellectual abilities. Eminent scholars from distant lands came and resorted here. These scholars were received well by the inhabitants of this place. It is said that these scholars chiefly came to study the vinaya. Vimalākṣa of Kashmir was one of the able students of this monastery during the 4th century A.D. He was known as the dark-eyed vinaya master. Yuan-chwang gives a legend according to which the monastery was built by the king in memory of the miracle which was wrought on his pure/noble and minded brother. Yuan-chwang names Mokśagupta — one of the chief monks of the monastery at the time of his visit. Mokśagupta was a Hīnayānist who had studied in India at least for twenty-long years. His specialisation was commentaries and etymology. He earned great fame in Kuchi. Watters identifies this monastery with the royal vihāra (Wang-ssu) where Dharmagupta lodged around 585 A.D.[120]

BÂLUKÂ or AKSU (Poh-Lu-Ka) : Here the pilgrim found ten monasteries and about one thousand Buddhists. They were all followers of the sarvāstivāda school[121].

THOUSAND SPRINGS (Bing - Ghyul) : According to Watters this place was somewhere on the northern slope of the high mountain streching from Lake Issik-kul westwards and in the Russian maps it is marked as Alexander's chain. There were one thousand springs and hence its name. The Khan of the Turks used to come here to avoid the heat. Yuan-chwang had a meeting with the Khan to whom he expounded the doctrines of the "ten virtues", compassion for animal life and the pāramitas and also emancipation. The Khan accepted the teachings[122].

SAMARKAND (Sa-mo-kien) : According to some accounts besides the followers of the other faiths there were Buddhists also in Samarkand during the 6th and the 7th centuries.A.D. But, during Yuan-chwang's visit there were definitely some persecuters of the faith. It is said that there were two monasteries in this country at the time of Yuan-chwang's visit. When one of the pilgims went into a monastery to perform religious services, he was driven out and the monastery was set in fire. However, the king is said to have punished the persecutors and listened to his discources. The king also allowed Yuan-chwang to hold a religious meeting for the ordination of the monks who could serve the monasteries[123].

TOKHARA (Tu-huo-lo) : About the Buddhist monks here, the pilgrim says that they went into retreat of the rainy season on the sixteenth day of the twelfth month till the fifteenth day of the third month. It was because at the end of winter and the beginning of spring there is much rain and in consequence sickness and dampness in this country. It was with this reason that the monks while making their religious precepts confirm to the seasons used to go into retreat during this time, as against in India where the rainy season was in summer when the monks would go into retreat as per rules laid down in vinaya[124].

TERMEZ or TERMED (Ta-mi) : Here the pilgrim saw about ten monasteries with more than one thousand monks. The stūpas and the images of Buddha were noted for the manifestation of miracles[125].

CHAGHANIAN or SOGHÂNIÂN (Ca'i-Ngoh-Yen-Na) : The country corresponds to Hissar. There were only five monasteries and very few Buddhists[126].

GARMA (Hu-lu-mo) : Here were two monasteries and about a hundred monks[127].

SUMAN AND KULAB : In this country there were two monasteries and very few monks[128].

KUBADIAN (Ku-ho-yen-na) : Situated on the oxus this country had three monasteries and about one hundred Buddhist monks[129].

KHULM (Ho-lin) : This country had about ten monasteries and about five hundred monks.[130]

BALKH (Fo-ho) : Here, says Yuan-chwang, were about one hundred monasteries and three thousand monks, all followers of the Hīnayāna. Outside the capital city towards south-east there was a monastery called Navasaṅghārāma which was built by a former king of the country. This was the only monastery, north of the Hindukush which was occupied by the masters who wrote commentaries on the canon. The pilgrim received great help in his studies from a monk of Che-ka-monastery named Prajñākara. Yuan-chwang read certain abhidharma treatises and also vibhāśā śāstra with him. He also had acquaintance with two other Buddhist scholars in this monastery who treated him with great courtesy. This monastery had halls adorned with the substances of rare value and the Buddha image was made of precious substances. With their attraction the neighbouring chiefs plundered to gain them. There was an image of Vaiśravana-deva which protected the monastery from being invaded or plundered. It was not long before Yuan-chwang's visit that the deva had protected it from an armed attempt of the Turkish governor who wanted to invade and plunder this monastery. The pilgrim further says that there were three relics of the Buddha in the southern hall of this

monastery. These were : his washing basin. That was so bright and dazzling that it was difficult to identify if it was made of stone or metal; his tooth and his sweeping brush made of kāśa plant. The handle of the brush was ornamented with gems. On six festival days all these relics were shown to the worshippers who assembled together. The worshippers saw these relics emitting a bright light according to their faith.

To the north of this monastery was a stūpa above two hundred feet high. It was ornamented with precious substances. The stūpa contained relics which at times reflected a divine light.

To the south-west of Navasaṅghārāma was an old monastery which had been the resort of the monks of high spiritual attainments, from all quarters. The pilgrim says that it was difficult to keep a record of those who had attained arhatship. For that, the stūptas were erected for those arhats who at the time of their death showed some spiritual (miraculous) power. Such stūpas were several hundred in number. Besides, according to Yuan-chwang, there were some thousands of other arhats who did not show any miracle at the time of their death and hence no memorial was erected to them. In this vihāra, during the days, were a hundred Buddhists.

All, so much devoted that it was difficult to distinguish common monks and arhats separately[131].

Yuan-chwang further states that there were two towns in Balkh viz., T'i-wei and Po-li. Each town had a stūpa above thirty feet high. There being a story behind the erection of these stūpas. The pilgrim relates it thus : the two merchants of this country when in Bodhgaya met the Buddha, who had just attained enlightenment (Buddhahood). They offered some refreshment to the Buddha out of their provisions. The Buddha delivered to them a discourse of five commandments and ten virtues which bring happiness to men and the devas. Thus becoming the first lay disciples, they requested for something to worship, at the time of their departure. The Buddha gave them his hair and nail cuttings. At their native land they erected stūpas on these relics as instructed by the Buddha. According to Yuan-chwang these were the very first stūpas erected on the relics of Śākyamuni. At some distance, there was another stūpa which, the pilgrim states, was built in the time of Kāśyapa-Buddha[132].

BAMIYAN (Fan-yen-na) : The people of this country were religious minded and respected Buddhism. Here were ten monasteries and several thousands of Buddhists. All were the adherents of the Lokottaravādin school of the Hīnayāna. To the north-east of the city, there

was a stone figure of the Buddha on the declivity of a hill. The image which was 140 or 150 feet high, had brilliant gloden colour and was splendent with ornaments and precious substances. On its east was a monastery which was built by a former king of the country. Again, to the east of this monastery was a standing image of the Śākya Buddha above hundred feet high. It was made of metalic stone.

At some distance to the east of the capital was an image in the sleeping posture, when the Buddha had attained nirvāṇa. The image was one thousand feet in length. The king of this place used to hold quinquennial assembly and every time the king was accustomed to give away to the monks all his possessions. Afterwards, the ministers used to redeem these possessions from the monks[134]. It, perhaps marks the degraded state of monks during the period. At some distance to the south-west of the sleeping image, while passing the great snowy mountains on the east, there was a saṅghārāma. In the saṅghārāma was a tooth of the Buddha; another tooth of a pratyekabuddha who lived at the beginning of the kalpa; also a tooth of a golden wheel king. There was also the begging bowl made of iron of Śānakavāsa (Sānavāsika) a great arhat[135]. Here, is said, was also the saṅghāti of Śanakavāsa in nine paces of dark red colour and made of the bark of Śanaka plant[136]. The travel account of the pilgrim records that the saṅghāti was placed in the monastery where the

sleeping image of the Buddha was lying. Yuan-chwang says that Śanakavāsa was a disciple of Ananda and he also gives a story of his saṅghāti[137].

KAPIŚA (Ka-pi-shih) : The king of this country, whose power extended over more than ten of the neighbouring lands, was an adherent of Buddhist faith. Every year he made 18 feet high silver image of the Buddha and made charities at a great assembly. There were a hundred monasteries here with more than six hundred Buddhists. Mahāyāna was chiefly followed. The stūpas and monasteries were lofty and spacious and were kept in good order.

There was a large monastery with above three hundred Buddhists belonging to Hīnayāna. According to a story given by Yuan-chwang, this monastery was built long back for the hostages who had arrived from China. On returning back the hostages, out of their regard sent religious offerings to the monastery. To the south of the east door of the Buddha's hall of the monastery, under the right foot of the image of the Buddha was a pit containing a buried treasure. The treasure was deposited there by the hostages. Yuan-chwang records that there was also an inscription stating that the treasure was to be used for the repairs of the monastery at the time of its falling into disrepair. It is said that once a neighbouring king tried to steel it but the figure of a parrot in the crown of the image, by flapping its wings frightened the king and his soldiers. The life,

also records that the treasure was dug out during Yuan-chwang's visit, when the Buddhists of this place made an attempt to dig it out to make some repairs. Yuan-chwang was requested to lay the case before the Lord. Doing so with success, the required amount was taken without causing any trouble.

In this country was a monastery belonging to Mahāyānists. The pilgrim names the chief priests of this monastery: Manojñāghosha (Mo-nu-jo-kiu-sha) was a scholar well versed in the three pitakas. Āryadeva belonged to the sarvāstivāda school. Also, Guṇabhadra of the Mahiśāsaka school. These scholars had a confined knowledge of Buddhism. They put various questions to Yuan-chwang, which he answered to their satisfaction. They acknowledged the superiority of the pilgrim. To the north of the hostages' monastery, there were caves in the mountains where the hostages practised samādhi. There were also the treasures being guarded by a yakśa.

In this country was also an image of Kuan-tzŭ-tsai P'usa and a Rāhula monastery. On the north-west of the capital was a great snowy mountain. On its top was a lake. There was a legend about this lake and its Dragon king. According to the legend, during the time

of Kaniṣka the Dragon king was a malicious creature who in his previous life was a novice attending an arhat of Gandhara. In his next birth, he took birth as a Dragon king of this lake in consequence of his prayer made to become a nāga king. As an outcome of his evil thought harbouring in him, he sent rain and storms to destroy the Buddhist monastery at the foot of the mountain. King Kaniṣka being enraged proceeded to fill up his lake. On this, the Dragon king became alarmed. Assuming the form of an old brāhmaṇa he earnestly made remonstrance with the king. On some compromise Kaniṣka built the monastery and erected a stūpa which served as a look-out. When the watchman on it observed dark clouds rising on the mountain the gong at once sounded whereupon the bad temper of the Dragon would cease. The pilgrim says that the top, still was used for the purpose. The stūpa contained flesh and bone relics of the Buddha about a pint in quantity. Also, from these proceeded many miracles.

There were two old king's monasteries. One had a milk tooth of the Śākya Pūsa and another had a piece of Buddha's ushniśā and also hair of a dark violet colour. On six fast days the latter two relics were worshipped by the king and his ministers. There was also the old queen's monastery. It had a gilt copper stūpa above one hundred feet in height. It, is said, contained relics of the Buddha.

To the south-west of the capital was Pi-lo-sho-lo mountain. Buddha is said to have come here on an invitation alongwith twelve hundred great arhats. Afterwards on this rock, king Aśoka is said to have built a stūpa above a hundred feet high. It was believed that the stūpa contained about a pint of the Buddha's relics. To the north of the stūpa was a Dragon spring. The Buddha and the twelve hundred arhats are said to have cleaned their mouth and chewed their tooth sticks. The tooth sticks being planted took roots and became the dense forest, existing at the time of Yuan-chwang. Later the people built a monastery

at the place and gave it the name Ping-to-ka[138].

ARACHOSIA (Tsao-ku-t'a) : The place is identified with Jāguḍa the name of a country famous for its saffron. The people of this country respected Buddhism. There were several hundred monasteries and above ten thousand Buddhists, all Mahāyānists. The king also had faith in Buddhism. Yuan-chwang says that there were ten stūpas built by king Aśoka[139].

VARDASTHĀN (Fu-li-shih-sa-t'ang-na) : It was perhaps a district of Kabul. The king was a Turk and a zealous Buddhist[140].

ANDERĀB (An-ta-lo-fo) : This country was also ruled by Turks. Yuan-chwang saw here only a few people having faith in Buddha. There were three monasteries and some tens of Buddhists belonging to the Mahāsāṅghika school. Here too, the pilgrim records, was a stūpa built by Aśoka[141].

KHOST (K'uo-si-to) : Khost was also dependant on Turks. Here, he saw three monasteries and very few Buddhists[142].

HUOH (Kunduz) : Majority of people here ware the followers of Buddhism. There were ten monasteries with some hundreds of followers of both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna[443]. Yuan-chwang met here a Buddhist monk having a very high reputation as a profound scholar of Buddhism. But, the pilgrim found him only superficially appuainted with the Hīnayāna books and he had no knowledge of Mahāyāna[144].

PO-TO-CH'ANG-NA (Badakshan) : There were three or four Buddhist monasteries and a small number of the followers here. The king was a profound believer of Buddhism[145].

KU-LANG-NA (Kuran) : There were only a few Buddhists here and a small number of monasteries. King also respected Buddhist religion[146].

TA-MO-SI-T'IE-TI (Tamasthiti or Dharmasthiti) : It was perhaps Wakhan[147]. Here, the pilgrim found about ten monasteries with very few Buddhists. In the capital there was a monastery built by the former king of the country, who was converted by a Buddhist missionary. According to Yuan-chwang it was since the conversion of the king that Buddhism flourished here. Again, the monastery had a Buddha image made of stone. The image was covered above with a gilded copper and was ornamented with gems. Worshippers while making circumbulance

the cover also moved and when they stopped the cover also stopped. Yuan-chwang says that it was difficult to know the secret of the miracle[148].

SHANG-MI (Sambhi) : It is probably the Chitral district[149]. The king here belonged to Śākyas and he greatly respected the law of the Buddha. Under his influence people also had faith in Buddhism. There were two monasteries with very few monks.[150]

KIE-P'AN-T'E : Probably Sariq-gol the chief city of which is Tashkurghan[151]. The people of this place were sincere Buddhists and there were more than ten monesteries with about five hundred monks. All followed the Sarvāstivāda school. The king was a patron of Buddhism. Here, king Aśoka, records Yuan-chwang, had built a stūpa in a palace. In the same palace afterwards was made a monastery for Kumāralabdha - a great scholar and the native of Takśaśilā who was forcibly brought here. This scholar was the founder of the Sautrāntika school and had composed many treatises. He was one amongst the four shinning sons other being Aśvaghosha, Deva and Nāgārjuna.

At some distance there were two cavea each having an arhat in trance, since seven hundred years. On the north-east along the mountain side there was a

Punyaśālā. According to a tradition it was built by an arhat. He built it out of pity for the caravans who crossed the wild region.[152]

WU - SHA : Perhaps Yangihissar, the people over here were devout Buddhists and there were more than ten monasteries with about one thousand monks of the Sarvāstivāda school. To the west of the capital was a mountain and there was a magnificient stūpa. The pilgrim gives a story of its erection[153].

KA - SHA (Kashgar) : People of this place had a sincere faith in Buddhism. There were some hundreds of monasteries with more than one thousand monks. All were the adherents of the Sarvāstivāda school. They recited from their scriptures without understanding the meaning. As such there were many who had gone through all the three pitakas and the vibhāśā [154].

CHE - KU - KA (Yarkand) : Here too, people were sincere followers of Buddhism. Monasteries were some tens but in ruins. Monks were about a hundred and belonged to Mahāyāna. In the south of the country was a mountain and there were numerous stūpas built in memory of the Indian arhats, who had passed away there. There were also three arhats in prolonged

samādhi in the caves of this mountain. This country had numerous Mahāyāna treatises. There were about ten treatises containing one lak ślokas and the treatises containing less number of ślokas had a wide circulation[155].

KU - SA - TAN - NA (Khotan) : The people of this country were Buddhists and the number of the monasteries was about one hundred. Monks were mere than five thousand who chiefly followed the Mahāyāna. The king was also a Buddhist. One monastery of this country was to the south of the capital. It was built by a former king for the arhat Vairocana who is said, had come from Kashmir and had converted the king. The king further introduced Buddhism in his kingdom.

To the south west of the capital was another monastery. It was built in a valley between two peaks of the mount Gośriṅga. It had an image of Buddha which emitted a bright light. The Buddha is said to have come and also preached here. The Buddha is also said to have made a prophecy that his religion would be established here and it would be chiefly followed in the form of Mahāyāna.

In a cave of the Gośriṅga mountain there was an arhat plunged in the ecstacy who awaits the coming of Maitreya Buddha. The entrance of the cave had been obstructed by the falling of mountain tops. Inspite

of making efforts to remove the fallen rocks they could not be removed. Hence the entrance remained closed.

To the south-west of the capital was the monastery known as Dīrghabhavana (Ti-ka-P'o-fo-na). It had a standing Buddha image. The image is said to have come from Kuchi.

To the west of the capital was a city called Po-ka-i. The city had sitting image of Buddha which was about seven feet high. Traditionally this image is believed to have come from Kashmir.

To the west of the capital at a short distance was the Sha-mo-no (Samjñā) monastery. It had a stūpa too. Yuan-chwang records a legend connected with the foundation of the monastery and erection of the tope.

In the town P'i-mo was a figure of the Buddha in the standing posture. It was made of sandal wood and was more than thirty feet in height. It had supernatural powers and emitted bright light. According to a local tradition the image was made in Buddha's life-time by the king of Kosambi[156].

- 0 -

1. Hambly, Gavin, Central Asia, p.30;
Smith, V.A., Aśoka : The Buddhist Emperor of India, 1901, p.66.

2. Hambly, Gavin, op.cit.,p.30.

3. ibid.

4. Raychaudhuri, H.C., Political History of Ancient India, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 326-333

5, The Mahāvaṁśa, ed. Geiger, p.82, ch.12,vv.1-2.

6. ibid.,,pp.83,85, vv. 4-5, 34.

7. Cunninghum, A., The Bhilsa topes or Buddhist Monuments of Central India, Indological book House, Varanasi, 1966, p.74.

8. cf. note 3 of ch.II.

9. Majumdar, R.C., The Age of Imperial Unity, p.111: Encyclopadea Britanica, vol.9, p.353

10. Majumdar, R.C., op.cit, p.111:
Smith, V.A., Cambridge History of India, p.541.

11.Lahiri, A.N., Corpus of Indo-Greek coins,Calcutta, 1965, p.78.

12. ibid., p.159.

13. Rhys Davids, T.W.R., ed.,Millindapañho, Sacred Books of the East, vol.3xxxv,Book I, 43,44,pp.37-39

14. ibid., SBE,vol.xxxvi, Book VII, 20,21, pp.373-375.

15. cf. Majumdar, R.C., op.cit, p.112.

16. Sankrityayana, Rahul, Mahāparinirvāna sūtra, Sahitya Sansthan, Udhypur, 1954, pp.71,72:
Dharmarakshita Bhikṣu, Mahāparinibbānasuttam, Gyanmandal, Ltd., Benaras, Samvat 2015,pp.192-195.

17. Millindapañha, SBE.vol.xxxv,Book I, 8,pp.5-6.

18. ibid., Book III, ch.7; 4,5, p. 127.

19. Majumdar, R.C., op.cit, pp.112-115; also see Raychaudhuri, op.cit., pp.382,424: Epi.Ind.,xxiv, 7ff; xxvi, 318f., xxvii,ii,52f.

20. Rapson, E.J., The Cambridge History of India,vol.I, ed. 1922, p. 564.

21. Godley, A.D.,(tr.) Herodotus, London, 1946, vol.I, Book I, p.73; Book iv, p.101

22. Majumdar Sastri, Surendranath (ed.) McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, Calcutta 1927, pp. 285-287.

23. cf. Mohan, Viswa Mitra, The Śakas in India, Varanasi, 1976, pp. 17-18.

24. Bergmann, F.G., LesScythes, p.540, vide Mohan, Viswa Mitra, op.cit., p.18

25. Bagchi, P.C., India and Central Asia, p.3.

26. cf. Chattopadhyaya, Sudhakar, The Śakas of India, Santiniketan, 1955, pp. 1-7.

27. Rapson, E.J., op.cit, p. 565.

28. Chattopadhyaya, Sudhakar, op.cit, p.4.

29. ibid., p.7.

30. Satya Shrava, Śakas in India, Lahore, 1947,pp.8-11.

31. cf. ibid., pp. 12-24

32. Marshall, John, Taxila, vol.I p.58; Epi.Ind, iv, p. 55f; CII, i, p.28.

33. Mohan, Vishua Mitra, op.cit, p.95.

34. Marshall,John, op.cit, p. 58.

35. Epi.Ind., vol.viii, p.78. No.10.

36. ibid.,

37. Epi.Ind, vol.viii, p.92 ff. No.12.

38. Chattopadhyaya, op.cit, p.93.

39. Mohan, Viswa Mitra, op.cit, p.113.

40. Bagchi, India and Central Asia, pp.5-6.

41. ibid., pp. 7-8.

42. ibid., p.8.

43. Puri, B.N., India Under the Kushana, Bhartiya vidya Bhawan, Bombay, p.6;
Pargiter, F.E., Dynasties of the Kali Age, Oxford Univerty press, 1913, p. 45.

44. cf. Puri, B.N., op.cit., p.6 and foot note 37.

45. Whitehead, R.B., Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, vol.I, pp.181-182; Nos.29-30.

46. ibid., pp.178, 179.

47. JRAS, 1924, p.397; No.3.

48. Harold, Ingholt, Gadhara Art in Pakistan, p.25, pl.III, 2,3,4,5, vide Puri, B.N., op.cit.,p. ;
also cf. Chattopadhyaya, Bhaskar, The Age of the Kushanas -- a numismatic study, Calcutta,1967, pp. 182, ff;
JNSI, viii, p.61.

49. Puri, op.cit., pp. 229-252 (list of inscriptions of the Kushana period).

50. ibid., p.229, No.1.

51. ibid., No.3.

52. ibid., pp. 229-30, No.4.

53. ibid., p.230, No.8.

54. ibid., p.232, No.1

55. ibid., No.2.

56. ibid., p.236, No.27.

57. ibid., p.233, No.9.

58. ibid., p.234, No.13.

59. ibid., p.235, No.21.

60. ibid., p.236, No.22

61. ibid., No.25.

62. ibid., p.237, No. 28.
63. ibid., pp. 240-241, No.53.
64. ibid., p.231, No.12.
65. ibid., p.238, No.33.
66. ibid., No.35.
67. ibid., No. 38.
68. ibid., No.39.
69. ibid., p.239, No.41.
70. ibid., p.240, No.47.
71. ibid., p.241, No.54.
72. ibid., p.242, No. 62.
73. ibid., No.63.
74. ibid., p.244, No. 75.
75. ibid., No.77.
76. ibid., pp. 244, 245, Nos. 78,80.
77. ibid., p.59.
78. ibid., p. 61.
79. ibid., p.249, No. 103.
80. ibid., p.248, No.99.
81. ibid., No.101.
82. CII, II (i) pp.30 ff.
83. JRAS, 1932, pp. 949 ff.
84. CII., p.155.
85. ASI, Annual Report, 1906-07, pp. 96 ff.
86. Puri, op.cit, p. 248, No.1.

87. ibid., Nos. 2,3.

88. ibid., p.251, Nos. 3,4,5.

89. ibid., p.252, No.1.

90. Bagchi, India and Central Asia, p.92.

91. ibid., also p.90.

92. Bongard-Levin, G.M., Central Asia in the Kushan Period
Kushan Studies in USSR, p.29.

93. ibid., p.39.

94. ibid.

95. ibid., p.46.

96. Dated 3rd century A.D.; cf. Law,B.C., A Study of the Mahāvastu, Calcutta, 1930, pp.vi-viii.

97. Dated 1st or 2nd century A.D.; cf., Vaidya,P.L., Lalitavistara, Buddhist Sanskrit texts, No.1, Darbhanga, 1958, pp. xi-xii.

98. Dated later than the beginning of the Christian era; cf. Avadānaśataka, Buddhist Texts, No.19, Darbhanga, p.x.

99. Dated between 200 and 350 A.D.; cf. Divyāvadāna, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, No.20, pp.x-xi.

100. Dated 1st century A.D.; cf. Saddharmapundarīka, Das, Rammohan (tr.), Patna, 1966, p.15.

101. Ind.Ant., vol.xxxvii, 1908, p.212.

102. Legge, James, A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, p.14;
Giles, H.A., The Travels of Fa-Hsien, 1923,pp.2-3.

103. Legge, pp. 14-15;
Giles, p.3.

104. Legge, pp.16-20;
Giles, pp. 4-6.

105. Legge, p.21;
Giles, pp. 6-7.

106. Legge, pp.22-24;
Giles, pp.7-8.

107. Legge, pp.24-25;
Giles, p.9.

108. cf. Bagchi, India and Central Asia, p.16.

109. Legge, pp.26-27;
Giles, p.10.

110. Legge, Pp.28-29;
Giles, p.11.

111. Legge, pp.29-31;
Giles, p.12.

112. Legge, pp. 31-32;
Giles, p.12.

113. Legge, p.32;
Giles, pp.12-13.

114. Legge, pp.33-35;
Giles, pp.13-15.

115. Legge, pp.36-40;
Giles, pp.15-18.

116. Legge, pp.40-41;
Giles, p.19.

117. Three kinds of pure flesh are :
(i) Unseen, (ii) Unheard, and (iii) Unsuspected, i.e., if the monk does not see, hear or suspect that the flesh has been made for him, then he can take it. Also, it should be noted that the Mahāyānists abstain from taking flesh at all.

118. Watters, Thomas, On Yuan-Chwang's Travels in India, vol.I, pp. 44-57;
Beals, Samuel, Si-yu-ki, vol.I, pp.17-18.

119. Watters, op.cit., p.53.

120. ibid., pp. 63-64;
Beals, op.cit., pp.19-24;
Beals, Samuel, The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang, London, 1911, pp. 37-38.

121. Watters, op.cit., p.64;
Beals, Si-yu-ki, p.24.

122. Watters, pp. 72-75;
Beals, Si-yu-ki, pp. 27-28.

123. Watters, p. 94;
Beals, The Life, pp.45-46.

124. Watters, pp. 102-103;
Beals, Si-yu-ki, p.38.

125. Watters, p. 105;
Beals, Si-yu-ki, p.39.

126. Watters, p.105;
Beals, Si-yu-ki, p.39.

127. Watters, p. 105;
Beals, p.39.

128. Watters, p.105;
Beals, p. 40.

129. Watters, p.105;
Beals, p.40.

130. Watters, p.106;
Beals, p.43.

131. Watters, pp. 108-111;
Beals, pp. 44-46.

132. Watters, pp. 111-112;
Beals, Si-yu-ki, pp.47-48.

133. Watters, p.114;
Beals, p.49.

134. Watters, pp. 115-119;
Beals, pp. 49-52.

135. Beals, p.52.

136. ibid., p.120.

137. Watters, p.120;
also cf. Beals, p.53.

138. Watters, pp. 122-130;
Beals, The Life, pp. 56-57.

139. Watters, vol.II, pp.264-266;
Beals, Si-yu-ki, vol.II, pp.283-284.

140. Watters, p.266;
Beals, p. 285.

141. Watters, p.270;
Beals, p.287.

142. Watters, p.270;
Beals, p.287.

143. Watters, p.270;
Beals, p.288

144. Watters, vol.I, p.107.

145. ibid., p.277;
Beals, p.291.

146. Watters, p.279;
Beals, p.292.

147. cf. Watters, p.280.

148. ibid., pp. 279-280;
Beals, pp.293-295.

149. Watters, p.284.

150. ibid., p.282;
Beals, pp.296-297.

151. Watters, p.287.

152. ibid.,pp. 285-287;
Beals, pp. 298-304.

153. Watters, p.289;
Beals, pp. 304-05.

154. Watters, p.290;
Beals, p. 307.

155. Watters, pp. 293-295;
Beals, pp. 307-08.

156. Watters, pp. 295-299;
Beals, pp. 309-323.

- 0 -

CHAPTER .. IV

Brief History of Buddhism in Kashmir

BRIEF HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN KASHMIR

The origin of Buddhism in Kashmir is shrouded in obscurity. Buddhist sources, however, are unanimous in attributing the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir to Majjhāntika, a monk of Varanasi and a disciple of Ānanda. According to Ceylonese Chronicle -- the Mahāvaṁśa.[11] Moggliputta Tissa, the spiritual guide of king Aśoka after the conclusion of the third Buddhist Council, sent missionaries to different countries to propogate Buddhism. A Buddhist savant Majjhāntika was deputed to Kashmir and Gandhara. The story of the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir by Majjhāntika is also told in several other Buddhist texts like the Aśokāvadāna[2], the Avadānakalpalatā[3] the Tibetan Dul-va[4] (vinaya) and the travel account left by Yuan Chwang.[5] It is infested with legendary colouring and relates how Majjhāntika received hostile treatment at the hands of the local Nāga people and their chief and how he was finally able to win over to Buddhist faith the entire Nāga population alongwith the king through his supernatural power.

According to the Buddhist text the Divyāvadāna[6],

however, several monks from Tamasavana in Kashmir were invited by Aśoka to attend the third Buddhist Council at Pataliputra. Again, Kalhaṇa[7] describes the establishment of several vihāras in Kashmir during the reign of king Surendra, the predecessor of Aśoka. It leads to presume that the Buddhist faith had already been introduced in Kashmir before the time of Majjhāntika and Aśoka. However, it seems that Buddhism, though introduced earlier, gained a firm footing in Kashmir only under the spiritual leadership of Majjhāntika during the third century B.C.

Aśoka (circa. 273-236 B.C.),whose sway extended to Kashmir as well, is described by Kalhaṇa[8] as a king of Kashmir and the follower of Jina i.e. Buddha and is credited by him with the establishment of several stūpas and vihāras in the valley. Thus he is credited with the builging of a caitya of amasing height in the town of Vitastātra[9]. Yuan-chwang also noticed four stūpas in the valley containing a portion of the relics of the Buddha which, according to him were set up by Aśoka[10]. The well known Tibetan historian Tārānātha speaks of king Aśoka as having bestowed lavish gifts on the several Buddhist saṁghas of Kashmir.[11]

The history of Budohism in Kashmir after Aśoka is somewhat obscure. Buddhism seems to have fallen on evil days during the reign of Jalauka the son of Aśoka. Jaluka was a supporter of the indigenous Nāga and Śaiva cults and not well disposed towards the Buddhist faith. A change in his attitude towards the Buddhist faith is, however, said to have been effected in him later by the intercession of the a divine sorceress named Kṛtya at whose request he built a vihāra called Kṛtyāśrama[12]. This vihāra has been identified as 'Ki-teche' visited by O'kong during the eighth century A.D.[13]

The next landmark in the history of Buddhism in Kashmir is formed by the famous Buddhist treatise Millindapañha which records the descussion on important Buddhist topics between the Indo-Greek king Menander or Milinda and the arhat Nāgasena. The scene of the discussion is said to have been a spot only twelve yojanas from Kashmir[14]. The author of this famous treatise refers to his intimate knowledge with Kashmir and surrounding regions and appears to be fairly familiar with the people of this region. King Milinda, according to this work, first became a lay devotee, then built the Milindavihāra and after some time handed over the reigns of his government to his son to join the Buddhist saṁgha[15]. The epigraphic

and numismatic evidence attest to the professing of Buddhist faith by the Indo-Greek rulers, who, after the fall of Mauryan empire, established their sway over whole of the north-western India[16]. It is not unlikely that Kashmir also came under the influence of the Indo-Greek rulers and Buddhism flourished in the valley under their benign patronage. A coin of Menander has been found in Kashmir which is now in the SPS Museum in Srinagar[17].

Buddhism received a great phillip during the rule of the Kushāṇa rulers. Kaniṣka's reign (circa. 78 A.D.) is full of glory in the history of Buddhism. He recovered the lost glory of the religion and fulfilled the work of king Aśoka viz. sending of distinguished scholars abroad to propagate the religion. Kashmir and Gandhara particularly enjoyed the prosperity in the history of Buddhism during Kaniṣka's reign. The session of the fourth Buddhist Council, the creation of the famous commentaries called vibhāṣā śāstras[18] and the appearance of distinguished scholars are some of the important factors for which Kashmir stood prominent during his reign.

According to Kalhaṇa Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka were the pious Turuṣka rulers who built Huṣkapura (Uskur), Juṣkapura (Zukur) and Kaniṣkapura(Kanespur) respectively and erected caityas and mathas at

Śuṣkaletra and other places[19].

According to Tārānātha, Kaniṣka became a devout Buddhist and listened to the discourses delivered to him by Siṁha - a ruler of Kashmir, who, after ordination was called Sudarśana[20].

Subsequently, Kashmir became an important centre of Abhidharma studies i.e. the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma. It produced a large number of distinguished scholars who specialised in Abhidharma studies and wrote commentaries on the same. Many scholars went outside India to propogate the faith. Some, who went to other countries like Central Asia, China, Tibet; translated Sanskrit texts into the languages of those regions. Again, after becoming an important centre of Abhidharma studies, distinguished scholars of other countries were attracted to Kashmir to gain knowledge.

After Kaniṣka, another king who is known to have extended patronage to Buddhism in Kashmir was Meghavāhana (circa. 6th century A.D). Meghavāhana originally hailed from Gandhara - a predominantly Buddhist country[21]. He prohibited the slaughter of living beings in his country[22]. His queen Amṛtaprabha of Prāgjyotiśa built, for the use of foreign monks, a lofty vihāra called Amṛtābhavana[23] to which refernce has been made by the Chinese traveller O'Kong[24] and

which is represented by the extent ruins at Vounta Bhavana (ancient Amṛtabhavana) a suberb of Srinagar. His other queens are also referred to have built many vihāras[25].

Kalhaṇa further refers to some evidences which prove the establishment of Buddhism during the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. Jayendra the maternal uncle of king Pravarasena II patronised Buddhism and built Jayendra vihāra and erected a statue of Buddha in it[26]. This vihāra was subsequently destroyed by king Kṣemagupta[27] (950-958 A.D). The ministers of Yudhisthra II also patronised the faith and constructed vihāras, caityas and completed other pious works[28]. Amṛtaprabha, wife of king Ranaditya installed the statue of Buddha in a vihāra built by Meghavāhana's wife Bhinnā[29]. Galuna the minister of king Vikramāditya built one vihāra in the name of his queen Ratnāvali[30]. The queen of king Durlabhavardhana (600-636 A.D.) set up Anaṅgabhavana vihāra[31] and Prakaśa Devi, wife of king Candrapīḍa (686-695 A.D.) founded Prakaś. vihāra[32].

A fairly trustworthy account of the condition of Buddhism in Kashmir from the 7th century onwards is furnished by some literary documents, the travel accounts of the Chinese travellers Yuan-chwang and

O'Kong, the Rājataraṅgiṇī, some archaeological discoveries and epigraphic records.

Nīlmata Purāṇa of the 6th - 7th century A.D.is a Sanskrit text dealing with the sacred places, rituals and ceremonials of Kashmir. The Buddha is made an incarnation of Viṣṇu in this work[33]. It prescribes the celebration of Buddha's birthday as follows : "In the bright fortnight the image of the Buddha should be bathed in water rendered holy with all herbs, jewels and scents, in accordance with the instructions of the śākyas i.e., Buddhists. The dwelling places of the śākyas should be white washed and the walls of the caityas - the abodes of the God-- should be decorated with paintings. Gifts of clothes, food and books should be made to the Buddhists and a festival swarming with dancers and actors should be celebrated. Worship of Buddha with eatable offerings, flowers, clothes, etc., and the charities to the poor should continue for three days[34]."

The discovery of Buddhist manuscripts from a stūpa at Gilgit is an important landmark in the history of Buddhism in Kashmir. On the basis of paleography these manuscripts which are written in the so-called post Gupta alphabets may be assigned to the 7th century A.D. 'Gilgit at that time was ruled by the

Ṣāhī princes as is indicated by some epigraphic records[35] and the manuscripts themselves which contain a mention of some Śāhī rulers[36]. These Ṣāhī rulers owed allegiance to the rulers of Kashmir. It appears that the flourishing state of Buddhism in the 7th century was not confined to the valley alone but the predominance of Buddhism could also be noticed in the distant north of Kashmir.

Yuan-chwang visited Kashmir in 631 A.D. He saw about a hundred saṅghārāmas and five thousand Buddhist priests in the valley[37]. He also saw four stūpas built by Aśoka each of which contained relics of the Buddha[38]. Among the Buddhist vihāras visited by him he specially mentions the Juśka vihāra[39] where he stayed for the night after his first entry into the valley at Baramulla and the Jayendravihāra[40] founded by the maternal uncle of Pravarasena II. Here, he stayed for a couple of years and received instructions in various śāstras. Yuan-chwang was warmly received by the king and was invited to his palace where he provided all facilities including assistance for copying important Budohist texts. Yuan-chwang's account proves beyond doubt that Kashmir at the time of his visit was a centre of Buddhist learning and there were several distinguished Buddhist scholars

in the valley who not only commanded mastery over the vibhāsā and the upadeśa śāstras but also continued composing Buddhist texts on valuable subjects with un-abated and un-flagged zeal and enthusiasm. Admiring the contents of these literary texts, Yuan-chwang remarks that in these there was evidence of great study and research. In them could be found an extra-ordinary insight into the Buddhist lore of various kinds and also into the Brāhmanical learning, Indian alphabets and Vedas and their aṅgas[41].

O'Kong[42] also known as Dharmadhatu, reached Kashmir via Kabul and Kandhar in 759 A.D. He stayed in Kashmir for four years and studied Sanskrit and vinaya texts from the celebrated Buddhist teachers. In Muṇḍīvihāra, he studied the vinaya texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. He noticed more than three hundred vihāras in the valley and a large number of stūpas and images. Besides, the Moung-ti vihāra, O'Kong mentions the following Buddhist monasteries in the valley :

1) Ngo-mi-to-P's-wan (Amitabhavana),
2) Ngo-Namli (Anaṅga or Ānandabhavana),
3) Ki-teche (Krtyāsramavihāra),
4) Nao-ye-le,
5) Je-jo,

6) Ye-li-t'e-le, and

7) K'o-toen.

The rulers of the Kārkota dynasty of Kashmir, who ruled during the 8th century A.D., though staunch followers of Śaiva and Vaisnava faiths were also favourably disposed towards the Buddhist religion. They founded Buddhist institutions and endowed them with lavish gifts. The celebrated Kārkota ruler, Lalitāditya Muktapida (699-736 A.D.) founded one Rājavihāra with a large quadrangle and a large caitya at Parihāspura[43] (the modern Paraspur). He also built another vihāra with a stūpa at Huskapura near Baramulla[44]. A huge copper image of Buddha built by him is said to have been as high as almost touching the sky[45]. His minister Kayya built Kayyavihāra where lived the bhikṣu Sarvajñāmitra who had attained the purity of Buddha[46]. Another minister of Lalitāditya named Cankuna, a Tokharian, built two vihāras one of which had a golden image of Buddha[47]. Cankuna's son-in-law also built a vihāra[48]. Next celebrated ruler of the Kārkota dynasty, Jayapīda Vinayāditya (751-782 A.D.) embellished his newly founded town Jayapura with three images of Buddha and a large vihāra[49]. The flourishing condition of Buddhism during the period of Kārkotas is also evidenced by archaeological excava-

tions carried on at Parihāsapura and other places which have brought to light several stūpas, vihāras, caityas and Buddhist images. Mention may be made of the excavated site at Parihāsapura founded by Lalitāditya which has revealed the existence of a stūpa, a monastery and a caitya and brought to surface two images of Bodhisattva and one of Buddha[50].

In the following centuries Buddhism in Kashmir was over-shadowed by the wide upsurge of the vaiṣṇava and śaiva faiths. However, inspite of the overwhelming predominance of Brāhmanic faith and the loss of the royal patronage, Buddhism continued to flourish even as late as the 13th century A.D. This is supported by the Rājataraṅginī and the epigraphic evidence.

King Avantivarman (855/6-833 A.D.) had respect for Viṣnu, Śiva and also Buddha. He prohibited the killing of living beings[51]. During his time the great scholars like Śivasvāmin, poet Ānandavardhana, Muktakāṇa and Ratnākara lived[52]. Although a Śaiva by faith, Śivaswamin composed a work with Buddhist theme entitled Kapphināabhyudaya[53]. The poet Ānandavardana is also reported to have written a sub-commentary (vivṛtti) on the Premāṇa-viniścaya-tīka of Dharmottara, a text belonging to Buddhist logic[54].

That Buddhism was still popular in the valley

and had some following in the tenth century is indicated by the inscription of the reign of Queen Diddhā preserved in the SPS Museum, Srinagar[55]. The inscription is incised on three sides of a pedestal of bronze statuette of the Bodhisattva Padmapani. The epigraph records consecration of a religious gift (dayā-dharma)consisting of the statutte itself by Rājānaka Bimaṭa, a Buddhist devotee. Another inscription, of probably the same or somewhat later period and incised on the back of a Buddhist image,contains the famous Buddhist creed Ye Dharmā, etc.[56] Another inscription, discovered from Ārigom and belonging to 1197 A.D., records the construction of a brick shrine by certain Ranadeva for installing an image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara[57]. Similary in the reign of Rajadeva (1213-1235 A.D) a particular cult object, called Maṇḍalaka, was consecrated by the Buddhist teacher Kamalaśrī in honour of Bodhisattva Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara)[58]. To the same or the somewhat earlier period probably belong the two inscriptions discovered by Cunningham at Drass in Ladakh which contain mention of the Bodhisattva Maitreya and Lokeśvara[59].

According to Rājataraṅgiṇī, Boddhism received patronage under the II Lahora dynasty (1101-1339 A.D.)

as well. King Uccalaś queen Jayamati built two vihāras and the king himself laid the foundation of a vihāra in honour of his sister Sullā[60]. Jayasiṁha was another king of this dynasty, whose rule commenced in 1128 A.D. His favourable attitude towards Buddhism led to the construction of new vihāras and renovation of the old ones. The Śul vihāra, construction of which was started by Jayasiṁha's uncle Uccala, was completed by him.[61] The relatives and officers of Jayasiṁha also gave expression to their Buddhist leanings and founded a number of Buddhist Institutions to which large endowments were granted by Jayasiṁha. His queen Ratnadevi's vihāras attained importance among the religious monuments[62]. Rilhaṇa, his minster a pious man built a vihāra at Bhalerakaprapā in honour of his deceased wife Sussalā[63]. Jayasiṁha adorned Bhuṭṭapura with vihāras and mathas[64] and completed Bijjā vihāra[65]. His commander-in-chief's wife Cinta built a vihāra on the bank of the river Vitastā with five other buildings[66].

Thus on the basis of archaeological, epigraphical and literary evidences adduced to above, Buddhism continued to enjoy popularity in the valley even as late as the 13th century A.D.

In the history of Buddhism, Kashmir has a pride

of place. Even since its introduction, Buddhism continued to flourish and enjoy popularity in the valley. The benign patronage of the pious rulers with Buddhist leanings gave it a phillip and a large number of monasteries with rich endowments were constructed throughout. These vihāras, in course of time, became great centres of Buddhist study and research and a large number of authentic Buddhist texts and expository commentaries were composed by the distinguished Buddhist scholars. These flourishing centres of Buddhism not only attracted the attention of Buddhist scholars in the country but several Buddhist celebrities of other countries also flocked to the valley to gain first hand knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures. It was the Buddhist scholars of Kashmir who studied and taught not only in the valley but also disseminated and expounded the Buddhist faith and Buddhist teachings in neighbouring countries of Central Asia, China and Tibet. The discussion on the contributions made by Kashmir towards the dissemination of Buddhist culture in these countries we reserve for the chapters to follow.

- 0 -

1. Mahāvaṁśa, Ch.12, vv. 834-836.
2. Przyluski, J, The legend of emperor Aśoka, Calcutta, 1967, Intro. p.2 and p.55.

3. Kṣemendra, Avadānakalpalatā, Pallava 70.

4. Dul-va, A.S.B. Xylograph, vol.XI,pp.684-690.

5. Watters, Thomas, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, London, 1904, p.267.

6. Divyāvadāna,(ed.)Cowell, E.G.,Neil, R.A., Cambridge, 1886, p.399.

7. Kalhaṇa, Rājataraṅginī, (ed.)Stein,A.,book-I, vv.94,98.

8, ibid., v. 102.

9. ibid., v. 103.

10. Watters, op.cit., p.261.

11. Tārānātha, History of Buddhism in India, (ed.) Chattopadhyaya, Debiprasad, Simla, 1970,p.65.

12. Kalhaṇa, op.cit. Book-I, vv.140-144, 147.

13. Stein, M.A., Notes on Ou-Kongs' Account of Kashmir, Wein, 1896, pp. 14-15, 18,

14. Milindapanho (The Questions of King Milinda), (Tr.) Rhys Davids, T.W., Oxford, 1890 (Sacred Books of the East, vol.XXXV) p.127,Book-III, ch.7,5.

15. ibid. pp.373-374 Book VII, ch.7; 19,20.

16. Supra. pp.27-28.

17. Kak, R.C., Handbook of SPS Museum, p.127.

18. Watters, op.cit. pp.270-271,278;
Tārānātha, op.cit., pp. 91 seq.;
Dutt, N., Gilgit Manuscripts, Srinagar, 1939, vol. I, p.21.

19. Kalhaṇa, op.cit., vv. 169-70.

20. Tārānātha, op.cit., p.91.

21. Kalhaṇa, op.cit., Book III, vv. 2,3,4.

22. ibid., vv. 5,6.

23. ibid., vv 9.

24. Stein, M.A., Notes on Ou-Kong, pp. 4,12.

25. Kalhaṇa, op.cit., vv. 11-14.

26. ibid., v. 355.

27. ibid., Book VI, vv. 171-173.

28. ibid., Book III, vv. 379-381.

29. ibid., v. 464.

30. ibid., v. 476.

31. ibid., Book IV, v.3.

32. ibid., v. 79.

33. Veo Kumari, The Nīlamata Purāṇa, Srinagar, 1968, pp.9-15.

34. Nīlamata Purāṇa, vv. 684-690.

35. cf. Hatun Inscription of Patoledeva Sahi, epigraphia Indica, vol.XXX, pp. 226 ff.

36. Dutt, N., op.cit., p.34.

37. Watters, op.cit., p.261.

38. ibid.; Beals, S., Si-Yu-Ki, vol.I, p.148.

39. Beals, S., Si-Yu-Ki, p.258.

40. ibid., p.259;
Hwui - li, Shaman and I-Tsing, Life of Hiuen Tsiang, London, 1911, p.69;
also cf. Stein, A., Rājataraṅginī, vol.I,pp.103,n.355.

41. Watters, op.cit., pp. 277 ff.

42. JA, 1895 vol.VI,p.354;
Stein, M.A., Notes on Ou-Kongs' Account of Kashmir, Wein, 1896.

43. Kalhaṇa, op.cit., Book IV, vv 200,204.

44. ibid., v.188.

45. ibid., v. 203.

46. ibid., v.210.

47. ibid., vv. 211, 215.

48. ibid., v. 216.

49. ibid., v. 507.

50. Kak, R.C., Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, London, 1933, pp.146-149.

51. Kalhaṇa, op.cit., Book V, v.64.

52. ibid., v. 34.

53. Śivasvamin's Kapphināhbyudaya, (ed.)Gauri Shankar, Lahore, 1937.

54. Stabartschy, F.Th., Buddhist Logic, New York,1962, vol.I, p.41.

55. Deambi, B.K.Kaul., Corpus of Śārada Inscriptions of Kashmir, Delhi, 1982, pp. 97 f.

56. ibid., p.139.

57. ibid., pp. 107 ff.

58. ibid., pp. 110 ff.

59. cf. ibid., p.153.

60. Kalhaṇa, op.cit., Book VIII, vv.246-248.

61. ibid., v.3318.

62. ibid., vv. 2401-2402, 2433.

63. ibid., vv. 2410-2411.

64. ibid., v. 2431.

65. ibid., vv. 3343-3344.

66. ibid., vv. 3352-3353.

- 0 -

CHAPTER .. V

Important Schools of Kashmir Buddhism — Contribution to Buddhist Thought

IMPORTANT SCHOOLS OF KASHMIR BUDDHISM -- CONTRIBUTION TO BUDDHIST THOUGHT

Buddha did not leave behind any documentation regarding his order. He only said that his speeches on the Dharma (order) and the vinaya (discipline) would be the supreme authority after him. So, it was left to monks or the disciples of the master to collect his teachings and put them together in the form of Buddhist Canons. In the course of time, changes in perceptions gave rise to differences of opinion amongst the compilers of the Canon. These differences of opinion after gaining ground over time gave rise to different sects of the Buddhist order. Although differences of opinion arose even during the life-time of the Buddha but historically it was a century after the Buddha attained parinirvāna that the first schism arose in the order[1]. It was during the time of the second council at Vaisali that efforts were made by some monks to relax the strict rules laid down by orthodox monks. However, the overall decision of the Council was in favour of the orthodox monks who came to be known as the theras or sthaviras[2]. Those monks who did not subscribe

to the orthodox views subsequently convened another Council, in which about ten thousand monks participated[3]. These later monks came to be known as the Mahāsaṅghikas, out of whom two primitive sects, i.e, Sthaviravādins and the Mahāsaṅghikas split out into several sub-sects. It was within five centuries after the Buddha's demise that there developed eighteen schools, eleven out of the theravāda and seven from the Mahāsaṅghikas. There continued to spring numberless sub-sects later on[4].

As far as Kashmir is concerned Buddhism was formally introduced here by Majjhāntika, who belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school[5]. This school was an off shoot of the Theravāda school. The Sarvāstivāda gained proficiency in Kashmir and it was the Abhidharmapitaka of this school that attracted a large number of scholars from distant places to gain knowledge. In the following accounts, attempt has been made to discuss the historical background, geographical expansion, works and also the philosophy of the sarvāstivāda school.

Historical Background :

The main theme, i.e., sarvam asti or sabban atthi of the sarvāstivāda school, meaning that "all things exist", has its origin in the Samyuttanikāya[6].

Hence, the idea of this thought goes back to the life-time of the Buddha. It is one of the earliest schools of Buddhist thought that brached off from the orthodox or the theravāda school.[7] Vasumitra, Bhavya, Vinītadeva and I-tsing dated this school to the 3rd century after the Buddha attained mahāparinirvāna[8]. According to the Ceylonese chronicle Dīpavaṁśa (V,47), the Mahiśāsaka first brahched off from the theravāda and the sarvāstivāda later issued out of the Mahiśāsaka of the orthodox school[9].

The history of this school begins from the time of king Aśoka (240 B.C.). Aśoka, in order to stop the addition of new sects within the theravāda school, convened a Council under the leadership of Moggaliputta Tissa - a theravādin. Moggaliputta Tissa in his Kathāvatthu, questioned some of the basic tenets of the sarvāstivādins[10]. Monks who supported the views of the theravāda were known as the theras or orthodox and the rest as unorthodox[11]. The latter left Magadha and went to Kashmir - Gandhara where they established themselves as sarvāstivādins[12]. Yuan Chwang records that during Aśokaś reign there was in Magadha a subtle investigator of nāma-rūpa (sarvāstivādin) who put his extraordinary thoughts in a treatise which taught heresy. The pilgrim

further says that an attempt was made to drown into the Ganges the sarvāstivādin monks. But these monks some how saved themselves and settled on the hills and in the valleys of Kashmir. On learning this Aśoka became regretful and requested these monks to return back but in vain. The king then built five hundred monasteries for these monks and gave up all Kashmir for the benefit of the saṅgha[13]. As such, Aśoka became a patron of the sarvāstivādin monks. Tārānātha - the Tibetan historian, also records his (Aśoka's) lavish gifts to the sarvāstivadin monks of Aparāntaka, Kashmir and Tukhara[14].

The Kushāṇa king Kaniṣka was also a great patron of the sarvāstivadins. In the fourth Buddhist Council convened by him, the majority of the participant monks were sarvāstivādins. The main object of the Council was to prepare commentaries on the Canons[15]. These commentaries, called vibhāsās, bear witness to the literary and religious activities of the sarvāstivāda school. It was with their reliance on the vibhāsās that the sarvāstivādins were later known as the vaibhāsikas[16]. The language of the vibhāsās was Sanskrit. The manuscripts discovered in Eastern Turkestan and Gilgit corroborate this fact[17]. According to the Tibetan

historian Bu-Ston, the founder of this school was Rāhulabhadra who belonged to the Ksatriya caste. The members of this school wore the mantle having twenty-five to twenty-nine fringes. Their badge was an Utpala (a lotus), a jewel and a leaf of a tree[18]. According to a tradition, the sarvāstivāda school was divided into seven sects, viz., Mūlasarvāstivāda, Kāsyapīya, Mahiśāsaka, Dharmagupta, Bahusrutīya, Tāmraśatīya and Vibhājjavāda[19]. The Mūlasarvāstivāda had its links with Kashmir and the neighbouring regions[20].

Geographical Expansion

As already noted that the sarvāstivadins, not finding a congenial place in Magadha, migrated to the north. It appears that this school developed first at Mathura and afterwards in Kashmir - Gandhara. The sarvāstivādins of Kashmir - Gandhara later assumed the name Mūla-sarvāstivādin to emphasis its fundamental bearing to subsequent schools of thought.[21] Thus the two centres of the sarvāstivādins were founded in Mathura and Kashmir-Gandhara by Upagupta and Madhyāntika respectively[22]. Madhyāntika was the direct disciple of Ānanda while Upagupta was the disciple of Sanavāsika. The latter was also a disciple of Ānanda[23].

Through the activities of the sarvāstivādins Kashmir became the centre of Buddhist philosophical studies in northern India. Subsequently this school became most widely recognised school in India. Aslo, it was this school through which the Hīnayāna doctrines were propagated in Central Asia and further to China. A few inscriptions dating from the 2nd to the 4th century A.D. attest to the presence of this school in Mathura, Peshawar, Kashmir and Baluchistan.[24]

The travel accounts of Chinese pilgrims also testify to the wider popularity of this school. Fa-hien (319-414 A.D.) noticed the existence of this school in Pāṭaliputra and China[25]. Yuan-chwang (629-645 A.D.) found followers of this school mainly in Kashgar, Udyāna and several other places in the northern frontier Matipura, Kanauj and a place near Rajagrha as well as in Persia[26]. I-tsing (671-675 A.D.) also testifies to the wide popularity of this school. He found sarvāstivādins in Lata, Sindu, Southern and Eastern India, Sumatra, Java, China, Central Asia and Cochin - China[27]. In this manner, the geographical extent of the sarvāstivāda school was much broader than any other school of Buddhist thought.

Works of the School

Like the theravādins had in Pāli, the sarvāstivādin school possessed a canon in Sanskrit in three divisions, viz., vinayapiṭaka, sūtrapiṭaka and abhidharmapiṭaka. Barring some manuscript fragments found in Central Asia, Gilgit and Nepal nowhere is available a complete copy of the Sanskrit canon. Also, there are evidences of this canon being preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations. Again, quotations from this canon are found in the Lalitavistara, Mahāvastu, Divyāvadāna, Abhidharmakośa and Mādhyamikavṛtti.

VINAYAPITAKA : Some of the texts in Chinese translations belonging to the sarvāstivāda and the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya schools include the following :-

a) Sarvāstivādavinaya :

i. Daśādhyāya-vinaya,

ii. Vinayanidāna (preface to the Daśādhyāya-vinaya),

iii. Vinaya-vibhāsa,

iv. Bhiksu-prātimokṣa-sūtra, and

v. Bhiksunī-prātimokṣa-sūtra.

b) Mūlasarvastivādavinaya :

i. Prātimokṣa sūtra,

ii. Another text (name not mentioned),

iii. Vinayasamyuktā-vastu,

iv. Vinaya-saṁgraha,

v. Vinaya-saṁghabhedaka-vastu,

vi. Bhiksuni-prātimoksa sūtra,

vii. Ekaśatakarma,

viii. Nidāna,

ix. Matrkā,

x. Pravrjyā-upasampadā-karmavākya,

xi. Vinaya-nidāna-matrkā-gāthā,

xii. Vinaya-samyukta-vastu-gāthā, and

xiii. Vinaya-gāthā[28].

There are four divisions of sarvāstivada and Mūlasarvāstivada vinaya in Chinese. These divisions are :

i. Vinaya-vibhaṅga,

ii. Vinaya-vastu,

iii. Vinaya-ksudraka-vastu, and

iv. Vinaya-uttaragrantha[29]. This four fold division is almost similar to that of the theravādins. In Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya the division is slightly different. The vinaya-vastu is placed here first and then the vinaya-vibhaṅga. The Chinese Daśādhyāya-vinaya - the principal work of the sarvāstivāda school and the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya have close affinity with each other. Fa-hien[30] makes mention of a sarvāstivāda vinaya in verse but the Chinese Daśādhyāya-vinaya is in prose. It is not clear if the prose translation has been made from the

text in verse or some other text in prose. Again, I-tsing mentions[31] that the vinaya of the Daśādhyāya does not belong to the Āryamūlasarvāstivāda school.

The fragments of the prātimokṣasūtra and the bhikṣuṇī prātimokṣasūtra have been discovered in Eastern Turkestan and in Nepal[32]. In Gilgit a number of manuscript fragments of this school have been discovered. These fragments consist of :
the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya vastu;
the prātimokṣasūtra; and
the Karmavacana[33].

SŪTRAPITAKA : The five sub-sections of this piṭaka are known as nikāya in Pāli and āgama in Sanskrit. Although the four Sanskrit āgamas, viz., Dīrghāgama, Madhyamāgama, Saṁyuktāgama, and Ekottarāgama are very often mentioned. There are only a few references to the fifth āgama viz., Kṣudrakāgama. The Chinese Dīrghāgama contains thirty sūtras as against thirty-four of the Pāli Dīrghānikāya[34]. The fragments of the Saṁgītisūtra and the Ātanāṭeyasūtra of the Dīrghāgama have been discovered in Eastern Turkestan[35]. The Chinese Madhyamāgama[36] contains two hundred and twenty-two sūtras as against hundred and fifty-two of the Pāli text. The fragments of the Upāli Sūtra and Śuka sūtra of the Madhyamāgama have also been

discovered in Eastern Turkestan[37]. The Chinese Samyuktāgama[38] is divided into fifty chapters while the Pāli text contains five Samyuttas or vaggas. Again, the finds of Eastern Turkestan have revealed the fragments of the pravāraṇasūtra, candropamāsūtra and śaktisūtra of the saṁyuktāgama[39]. The Ekottarāgama[40] contains fifty-two chapters and the Pāli text has eleven nipātas consiting of hundred and sixty-nine chapters. The sūtras of Ekottarāgama and Aṅguttaranikāya differ probably because many sūtras of the Ekottarāgama have been included in the Madhyamāgama and Saṁyuktāgama. Also it is for this reason that the Ekottarāgama is much shorter than the Pāli Aṅguttarnikāya. In Gilgit finds there are twenty-seven leaves of the Ekottarāgama belonging to Mūlasarvāstivāda school[41]. Udānavarga- the Sanskrit version of the Dhammapada has been discovered in course of the excavations in Eastern Turkestan[42]. The Chinese and Tibetan versions of this text belonging to the Ksudrakāgama are based on some versions different from the Pāli. There are three separate Chinese translations of the Dharmapada[43]. There is one Tibetan translation of Udānavarga and its commentary, viz., Udānavarga vivaraṇa[44].

ABHIDHARMAPITAKA : This is a very significant section of the school. The Sarvāstivādins possessed seven

Abhidharma treatises like the theravādins. The treatises of the Sarvāstivādins preserved, mainly in Chinese translations are :

1. Jñānaprasthānasūtra : It was composed three hundred years after the mahāparinirvāna of the Buddha by the venerable Kātyāyanīputra. This great sarvāstivādin scholar flourished in Kashmir and was a contemporary of king Kaniṣka[46]. There are two Chinese translations of this work one by the monk Gautama Saṅghadeva[47] of Kashmir alongwith Ku-Fo-nien in 383 A.D. The title of the work being the Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha also known as Aṣṭagrantha[48]. It contains thirty fasciculi. Another translation is by Yuan-Chwang made in 657-660 A.D. entitled the Abhidharmaśāstra also called Jñānaprasthāna[49]. It consists of twenty fasciculi. Both the versions contain eight sections covering forty-four chapters. Only the title of a few chapters differ. Jñānaprasthānasūtra is the most important work of the school. This treatise has been compared to the body of a being and the other six treatises as its pādas or legs[50]. As such the Jñānaprasthāna is the principle work of the sarvāstivādin school and the other six are supplements to it. This is unlike the seven theravādin treatises each one of those treatises

is an independent work.

2. Saṅgītiparyāya[51]: Being the first of the six pādas or supplements to the Jñānaprasthānasūtra it was composed by the venerable Śāriputra according to Chinese sources. Yaśomitra and Bu-ston name the author as Mahākauṣthila. Yuan-chwang translated it into chinese. The work containing twelve chapters was an attempt to summarise the teachings of the Buddha in order to retain the chances of difference arising among the disciples. A small fragment of the Saṅgītiparyāya has been discovered from the caves of Bamiyan (Afghanistan)[52].

3. Prakaraṇapāda : The second of the six pāda works has been ascribed to the great sarvāstivādin teacher Vasumitra. Yuan-chwang mentions that this treatise was composed by Vasumitra in a monastery at Puṣkarāvati[53]. There are two Chinese translations of this work. First is by Guṇabhadra and Bodhiyaśas made in 435-443 A.D. and the other by Yuan-chwang[54] in 659 A.D. The work contains eight chapters.

4. Vijñānakāya : The third of the six supplemantary works of the sarvāstivādins, vijñānakāya[55] was composed one hundred years after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha by Arhat Devaśarma in Viśoka near Śrāvasti. The treatise containing six chapters was translated into Chinese by Yuan-chwang in 649 A.D.

According to Yuan-chwang the vaibhāsikās while considering the importance of the treatise accepted it as canonical and the sautrāntikas rejected it[56].

5. Dhātukāya[57]: It is the fourth of the six pāda works. It was composed three hundred years after the mahāparinirvāna of the Buddha by the venerable Vasumitra. according to the Chinese authorities. Yasomitra and Bu-ston ascribe it to Pūrṇa. Yuan-chwang made its Chinese translation in 663 A.D. It contains two chapters.

6. Dharmaskandha : This treatise - the fifth of the six supplements of the Jñānaprasthāna was composed according to Chinese sources by the great Maudgalyāyana. But Yasomitra and Bu-ston attribute it to Ārya Śāriputra. The treatise translated by Yuan-chwang[58] in 650 A.D. contains twenty-one chapters. The ninteen leaves of the Dharmaskandha have been discovered at Gilgit[59].

7. Prajñāptiśāstra[60]: It is the last of the seven pāda works composed by Mahāmaudgalyāyana and translated into Chinese by Fa-hu (Dharmaraksha ?) and others in 1004-1058 A.D. The Tibetan translation of the work contains three parts viz., Lokaprajñāpti, Kārana-prajñāpti and Karmaprajñāpti. The Lokaprajñāpti is missing in the Chinese translation. The six leaves of the Lokaprajñāpti have been discovered among

Gilgit manuscripts[61].

Besides the above noted seven Abhidharma treatises there are also some other important philosophical treatises belonging to the sarvāstivada school. Those works are known through their Chinese and Tibetan translations. Only one treatise is extent in original Sanskrit i.e., sphutārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā of yaśomitra. These philosophical works of the school are as under :

1. Abhidharmamahāvibhāsaśāstra[62]: It is a huge commentary on the jñānaprasthānaśāstra of Ārya Kātyāyanīputra. It was compiled four hundred years after the Mahāparinirvāna of the Buddha by five hundred arhats headed by the venerable Vasumitra[63]. The text containing eight divisions and forty three chapters was translated into Chinese by Yuan-chwang in 656-659 A.D.

2. Abhidharmavibhāsaśāstra[64]: This is another commentary on the jñānaprasthānaśāstra, atrributed to Kātyāyanīputra himself. The Chinese text is incomplete. It was translated by Buddhavarman and Tao-thai in 437-439 A.D. The text contains three divisions and six chapters.

3. Abhidharmakośa[65]: It is a digest of the seven abhidharma treatises and deals with almost all the philosophical topics contained in them. It was composed by Vasubandhu who also refutes the views of the

vaibhāsikas in this work. The work has two Chinese versions consisting of nine chapters. One Chinese version is made by Paramārtha in 564-567 A.D., another by Yuan-chwang in 651-654 A.D. The latter agrees with the Tibetan version[66] of the work. In Chinese the work is in two forms, one in verse and the other in prose is an explanation of the former.

4. Abhidharmakośakārikā[67]: The authorship of this work is attributed to Vasubandhu by Chinese and Tibetan writers. Yuan-chwang translated it into chinese in 651 A.D. It was translated into Tibetan[68] by Jinamitra and Dpal-brtsegs-raksita.

5. Abhidharmanyāyānusāra or Nyāyānusāraśāstra[69]: The work is composed by Saṅghabhadra-a contemporary of Vasubandhu. Yuan-chwang translated it into Chinese in 653-654 A.D. Saṅghabhadra composed it in order to refute Abhidharmakośaśāstra where Vasubandhu has supported the views of the sautrāntyikas[70].

6. Abhidharmasamayapradīpikā or Abhidharma-(pitaka) prakarana-śāstra[71]: This work is also written by Saṅghabhadra and translated by Yuan-chwang in 651-652 A.D. The work had a Tibetan translation too entitled Abhidharmakośaśāstrakārikābhāsya[72]. It is a digest of Abhidharmanyāyānusāra and contains 1,20,000 ślokas supporting the vibhāsa.

7. Sphutārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā or Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣyaṭīkā : The work composed by Yaśomitra is the only work available in original Sanskrit. Being a commentary on the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya it deals with the topics contained in the Abhidharma treatises. It has a Tibetan translation made by Viśuddhasiṁha and Dpal-brtsegs[73].

8. Abhidharmakośaṭīkālakṣaṇānusāriṇīnāma : It's author is Pūrṇavardhana who was a pupil of Sthiramati and the teacher of Jinamitra and Śīlendrabodhi. It was translated into Tibetan by Kanakavarman and Pa-tshab-ni-ma-grags[74].

9. Abhidharmakośatikopāyikanāma[75]: It has a Tibetan translation made by Jayaśrī and śes-rab-hud-ger. The author's name is given as Shi-gnas-lha.

10. Abhidharma(kośa)vṛttimarmadīpanāma[76]: It has a Tibetan translation. The author's name is given as phyogs-kyi-glaṅ-po and the translators were Rnal-hbyor-zla-ba and Hjam-hpal-gzhon-pa.

11. Sārasamuccayanāma-abhidharmāvatāraṭīkā[77]: It has a Tibetan translation made by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and ye-śes-sde.

12. Abhidharmāvatāraprakaraṇanāma[78]: In its Chinese translation made by Yuan-chwang in 658 A.D., the title is given as Abhidharmāvatāraśāstra[79]. The authorship is ascribed to the arhat Sugandhara. It has a Tibetan

translation as well. In this work five skandhas viz., rūpa, vedanā, saṅjñā, saṁskāra and vijñāna and three asaṁskṛtadhātus viz., ākāśa, pratisāṁkhya-nirodha and apratisaṁkhyanirodha have been explained briefly.

13. Abhidharmāmṛta-(rasa)-śāstra[80]: It has a Chinese translation. Authorship is attributed to venerable Ghoṣa. The work containing sixteen chapters was translated in the time of the wei dynasty.

14. Abhidharmahṛdaya-(śāstra)[81] : It is attributed to Dharmajina (?). The Chinese translation has been made by Gautama Saṅghadeva[82] and Hwui-Yen in 391 A.D. The text has ten chapters.

15. (Dharmajina ?)- abhidharmahṛdaya-(śāstra)[83]: It is a commentary on the Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra. The work containing ten chapters was translated into Chinese by Narendrayaśas in 563 A.D. It's authorship is attributed to the venerable Upaśānta.

16. Samyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra[84] : It is another commentary on the Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra attributed to Dharmatrāta. It was translated into Chinese by Saṅghavarman and others in the year 434 A.D.

17. Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra[85]: It has a chinese translation made by, Dharmagupta and Dharmayaśas in 414-515 A.D. It has four divisions and thirty-three

chapters.

Principles of the School

In the following discussion effort would be made to depict briefly the principles of the Abhidharma (philosophy) of the sarvāstivāda school on the authority of Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu. According to Vasubandhu "Abhidharma" is an analytical study of the nature of all dharmas(elements) the different means of attaining prajñā (real knowledge)[86]. The sarvāstivādins maintain "sarvam asti" i.e.,all exists^by which may be understood a doctrine that maintains realism. The realism of dharmas (elements) in the three phases of time - present, past and future. These dharmas are temporal (addhva), matter of convention (kathāvastu) in the name (nāma) and form(rūpa), without substance (sanihsāra) and of dependant origination (savastuka)[87]. By the combination of these dharmas into various forms of matter (rūpa) and mind (citta) the whole world (loka) and the objects(vastus) are build up[88].

The different interpretations of the existence of dharmas according to sarvāstivāda theory is given by Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣaka, Vasumitra and Buddhadeva respectively as under[89]:

a) Bhavanyathātvavāda i.e., the change of nature not of dharma,

b) Laksanānyatvavāda i.e., change of character not of Dharma,

c) Avasthānyathātvavāda i.e., change of mode not of Dharma,

d) Anyathānyathiktvavāda i.e., relative changes.

These Dharmas do not signify any permanent substance (nityadravya). These dharmas — the basis of all concrete phenomena are real only hypothetically. For the objects which existed in the past are now the object of mind's consciousness (manodhātu) . In the same way the future objects remain unmanifest in the present consciousness. As such the theory of the sarvāstivāda school cannot be interpreted as realism par excellence.

Classification of Dharmas : According to sarvāstivādins there are seventy-five dharmas (elements) in all. They are grouped into two categories viz., sāśrava (impure) and anāśrava (pure)[90]. There are seventy-two sāśrava (impure) dharmas. They are saṁskrta (conditioned) dharmas. These seventy-two dharmas are classified in four categories as under[91]:-

1. Rūpa (material compounds). They are eleven in number:

a) Visaya (objects)
   i. Rūpa (visible object)
   ii. Śabda (audible object)
   iii. Gandha(odorous object)
   iv. Rasa (sāpid object)
   v. Sparśa (tangible object).

b) Indriya (sense organs)

i. Caksurindriya (eye)

ii. Śrotrendriya (Ear)

iii. Ghrānendriya (nose)

iv. Jihvendriya (tongue)

v. Kāyendriya (body)

c) Avijñāpti (ideational objects)

2. Citta (consciousness)

3. Cittasamprayuktadharmas (mind derivatives). They are fourty-six in all, divided as under :

a) Mahābhumika (universal psychic factors)

i. Vedanā (feeling)

ii. Saṅjñā (perception)

iii. Cetanā (volition)

iv. Sparśa (contact)

v. Chanda (desire)

vi. Mati or prajñā (intellect)

vii. Smṛti (memory)

viii. manaskāra (attention)

ix. Adhimoksa (firm determination)

x. Samādhi (one pointedness).

b) Kuśalamahābhūmika (moral psychic factors)

i. Sraddhā (faith)

ii. Vīrya (enthusiasm)

iii. Upekśā (indifferent)

iv. Hri (feeling shame for one's self)

v. Apatrāpya (feeling shame for another)

vi. Alobha (sacrifice)

vii. Advesa (absence of hatred)

viii. Ahiṁsā (harmlessness)

ix. Praśrabdhi (adroitness)

x. Apramāda (carefulness).

c) Kleśamahābhūmika (bad psychic factors)

i. Moha (ignorance)

ii. Pramāda (carelessness)

iii. Kauśidya (repentance)

iv. Aśraddhyā (faithlessness)

v. Styāna (idleness)

vi. Auddhātya (bewilderness of consciousness).

d) Akuśalamahābhūmika (immoral psychic factors)

i. Ahrikatā (shamelessness for one self)

ii. Anāpatrāpya (shamelessness for another).

e) Upakleśabhumika (minor immoral psychic factors)

i. Krodha (anger)

ii. Mraksa (hypocrisy)

iii. Mātsarya (envy)

iv. Irsyā (feeling jealous)

v. Pradāśa (wounding by harsh words)

vi. Vihiṁsā (injury)

vii. Upanāha (continuity of feeling enmity)

viii. Māyā (cheating others by false activities)

ix. Śāthya (trickiness)

x. Mada (arrogance).

f) Aniyatabhūmika (indefinite psychic factors)

i. Kaukrtya (repentance)

ii. Middha (absent mindedness)

iii. Vitarka (discussion)

iv. Vicāra (judgement)

v. Rāga (attachment)

vi. Pratigha (animosity)

vii. Māna (conceit)

viii. Vicikitsā (wrong interpretation).

4. Cittaviprayuktadharmas (mind dissociated). They are fourteen in number as follows :

i. Prāptī (acquisition)

ii. Aprāptī (non-acquisition)

iii. Sabhāgatā (common characteristics)

iv. Saṁjñikā (absence of perception)

v. Asaṁjñīsamāpatti (stage of meditation producing cessation of perception)

vi. Nirodhasamāpatti (stage of meditation producing cessation of mental activity)

vii. Jīvita (life)

viii. Jāti (origination)

ix. Sthiti (continuance)

x. Jarā (decay)

xi. Aniyata (impermanence)

xii. Nāmakāya (words)

xiii. Padakāya (sentence)

xiv. Vyañjanakāya (letters whether they compose a word or not).

There are three pure dharmas which are asaṁskṛta (unconditioned). They are[92]:

i. Ākāśa (eater or infinite space)

ii. Pratisāṁkhyanirodha (cession of impurities by knowledge

iii. Apratisāṁkhyanirodha (cessation of impurities by means of sādhanā).

All the seventy-two saṁskṛta (conditioned) dharmas are the constituted forms of the five skandhas(constituents). The five skandhas are[93]:

i. Rūpa (matter)

ii. Vedanā (feeling)

iii. Saṁjñā (perception)

iv. Vijñāna (consciousness)

v. Saṁskāra (impression).

The skandhas (constituents) are pure by nature. They become impure when they form a pudgala (constituted being). They are qualified as upādāna skandha which are always impure and are the sources of saraṇa (conflict). They become the causes of suffering and subject to suffering[94].

Sarvāstivādins finally put emphasis on Nirvāṇa (emancipation). According to them the emphasis on nirvāṇa categorically determines the evanescent and

phenomenal character of all knowledge and all existance.[95]

Besides sarvāstivāda other schools of Buddhist thought also found a place in Kashmir. Harivarman was a sarvāstivadin teacher of Kashmir who composed in the year 253 A.D. the Satyasiddhi śāstra. It is also known as Tattvasiddhiśāstra and the purpose of this work was to reconcile the different Buddhist sects that had arisen till his time. The work is believed to have become a part of the famous tripitaka and thus having played a significant role in including the Buddhist thought of the day in the tripitaka. This work was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva who also introduced the Satyasiddhi school based on this work in China. The work was held in high esteem in China.[96]

According to Yuan-chwang, a work entitled Tattvasaṁgraha (Chi-Chen-lun) written by the Kashmiri scholar Bodhila, expounded the philosophy of the Mahāsanghika school. Again, Yuan-chwang says that Bodhila composed the work in a Mahāsanghika monastery of Kashmir.[97]

- 0 -

1. Bapat, P.V., 2500 years of Buddhism, Publication Division, Govt. of India, 1976, pp. 86-87.
2. ibid., pp.36-39; 87-88.
3. ibid., p.39; also cf. Banerjee, A.C., Sarvāstivāda literature, Calcutta, 1957, p.3.

4. ibid., p.89.

5. Przyluski, Jean, LEA, p.56.

6. Samyuttanikāya, iv, 15.

7. Sogan, Yamakami, Systems of Buddhistic thought, Calcutta, 1912, p.101.

8. Dutt, N., Buddhist sects in India, Calcutta,1977, pp. 51-52; 140;
Banerjee, A.C., op.cit., p.86;
Takakusu, A Record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing, Oxford, 1896, p.xxi.

9. Takakusu, op.cit., p.xxi.

10. Takakusu, Junjiro, The Essentials of the Buddhist Philosophy, New Delhi, 1956, p.56;
Takakusu, I-tsing, p.xxi.

11. LEA, p.17, note 3.

12. The Abhidharmamahāvibhāsāśāstra, extent in Chinese, vide Banerjee, A.C., Buddhism in India and Abroad, Calcutta, 1973, p.87.

13. Watters, On Yuan-chwang's travels in India, pp.267,269

14. Tārānātha, History of Buddhism in India,(Ed.) Chattopadhyaya, Debiprasad, Simla, 1970,p.65.

15. Vide Chapter IV of this thesis, p.84.

16. cf. Takakusu, I-tsing, p.xxi.

17. cf. Bailey, H.W., Khotanese texts, Cambridge;
Dutt, N.Gilgit Manuscripts, Srinagar.

18. Obermiller, E., The History of Buddhism by Bu-ston, Heidlberg, 1932, Vol.II,p.100;
Also cf. Watters, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.149-150.

19. Thomas, E.J.,History of Buddhist thought, London, 1933, p.38.

20. Le Nord-ouest de L'Inde, Journal Asiatique, 1914, II, p.494, vide Pryzuluski, LEA, p.13.

21. Pryzulski, LEA, p.13.

22. Dutt., N.,Buddhist sects in India, p.140.

23. LEA,, p.55.

24. cf. Chapter III of this thesis;
also cf. Dutt, N., Buddhist Sects in India, p.141.

25. Legge, James, A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms,
Chapter xxxvi;
also cf. JRAS, 1891, p.414.

26. JRAS, 1891, pp. 414-417; 419.

27. Takakusu, I-tsing, pp.XXIV-XXV

28. Banerjee, A.C., Sarvāstivāda Literature, p.31.

29. ibid., p.28.

30. Legge, op.cit., Chapter XXXVI,

31. Takakusu, I-tsing, Introduction, p.20.

32. Winternitz, M., The History of Indian Literature,
Calcutta, 1933, Vol.II, p.233 f.n. 1;p.234 f.n 1,2;
also cf. Banerjee, A.C., Sarvāstivāda Literature,p.29.

33. cf. Kaul, A., Buddhist Savants of Kashmir,Delhi,
1987, pp. 82-83.

34. Nanjio, Bunyin, A Catalogue of the Chinese translaion
of the Buddhist Tripitaka, No.545.

35. Banerjee, A.C., Buddhism in India and Abroad,p.89.

36. Nanjio, op.cit., No. 542.

37. Banerjee, Buddhism in India and Abroad, p.89.

38. Nanjio, op.cit., No. 544.

39. Banerjee, Buddhism in India and Abroad, p.89.

40. Nanjio, op.cit., No.543.

41. Kaul, A., op.cit., p.83.

42. Majumdar, R.C., The Age of Imperial Unity, p.643.

43. IHQ, Vol. XI, No.4, 1935.

44. Rockhill, op.cit., p.XI;
Naudou, op.cit., p.195.

45. Banerjee, Sarvāstivāda Literature, Ch.V,pp.51 ff.

46. JRAS, 1905, pp. 52-53.

47. Infra., pp. 130-131.

48. Nanjio, No.1273.

49. ibid., No.1275.

50. Yasomitra, Sphutārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā, (Ed.) Lévi, S., and Stcherbatsky, p.9 vide Banerjee, Sarvāstivāda Literature, p.54.

51. Nanjio, No. 1276.

52. Banerjee, Buddhism in India and Abroad, p.90.

53. Watters, op.cit., Vol. I, p.214.

54. Nanjio, Nos. 1277, 1292.

55. ibid., No.1281.

56. Watters, p.374.

57. Nanjio, No. 1282.

58. cf. Nanjio, No. 1296.

59. Kaul, A., op.cit., p. 83.

60. Nanjio, No. 1317.

61, Kaul, A., op.cit., p.83.

62. Nanjio, No. 1263.

63. JRAS, 1905, p.52.

64. Nanjio, No. 1284.

65. ibid., Nos. 1267, 1269.

66. Hukuju,Ui and others, (ed.),A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Cannons, p.621,No.4090.

67. Nanjio, No. 1270.

68. Hukuju Ui, op.cit., p.621, No. 4089.

69. Nanjio, No. 1265.

70. cf. Watters, p. 324.

71. Nanjio, No. 1266.

72. Hukuju Ui, pp. 621-22, No. 4091.

73. ibid., p. 622, No. 4092.

74. ibid., No. 4093.

75. ibid., No. 4094.

76. ibid., pp. 622-23. No. 4095.

77. ibid., p.623, No. 4097.

78. ibid., p.623, No. 4098.

79. Nanjio, No. 1291.

80. ibid., No. 1278.

81. ibid., No. 1288.

82. Infra., p.131.

83. Nanjio, No. 1294.

84. ibid., No. 1287.

85. ibid., No. 1268.

86. Sankrityayana, Rahul, Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu, Varanasi, 1888 (Vikrami Samvat), I, kārikā 2;
प्रजाद्रुमस्य तानुचराङ्कुरधर्मः ।
तत्प्राप्तये यावि च यच्च शास्त्रम् ।

87. ibid., kārikās 7,8 :
त श्वाङ्ध्वा कथावस्तु तनिः तारा: सवस्तुका: ।।
दुःखं समुदयो लोको दृष्टिस्थानं भवश्च ते ।।"

88. ibid., kārikā 18: and bhasya p.54 :
रूपस्कन्धेन मनायतनेन धर्मधातुना च
सर्वधर्माणां संग्रहोवोद्वव्यः ।।"

89. Kosa, V, Ka. 26;
Sankrityayana, Abhidharmakośa, pp. 138-139.

90. Kośa, I, Kā. 4;
" तात्रवाङ्नात्रवा धर्मः संस्कृता मार्गवर्जितः ।।"

91. Sojen, Yamakami, op.cit., pp. 120 ff.

92. Kośa, I, Kās. 5,6;
Sankrityayana, Abhidharmakośa, pp.2-3.

93. ibid., Ka. 7;
Bhāṣya, pp.25-26.

94. ibid., Ka. 8;

ये सास्रवा उपादानस्कन्धास्ते सरणाऽपि ।
दुःखं समुदयो लोको दृष्टिस्थानं भवेति ।।"

95. ibid., Kā.6.

96. Satyasiddhi Śāstra of Harivarman, Vol.I, edited by Sastri, N. Aiyaswami, Review, published in JASB, Vol.52/53, 1977-78, (new series) p.393.

According to a statement of Sanyin about Harivarman quoted by Sogen, Yamakami, Systems of Buddhist Thought, p.175, Harivarman was the disciple of Kumāralabdha- a leader of the Hīnayānists of Kashmir. According to the same source Harivarman composed his work about 890 years after Buddha's Parinirvāṇa;
also cf. Dutt, N., Buddhist Sects in India, p.74.

97. Watters, p. 282.

CHAPTER .. VI

Buddhist Scholars of Kashmir

BUDDHIST SCHOLARS OF KASHMIR

Buddhist scholars of Kashmir by their erudition and scholarship made Kashmir a cradle of Buddhist learning for several centuries. They preached and propagated tha Buddhist learning, not only in the valley but also in the neighbouring countries of Central Asia reaching further to China. Later, the scholars also preached it in Tibet.A Large number of the adherents were attracted to the valley itself to learn under reputed scholars. The chapter presents a brief account of those scholars of Kashmir who disseminated and expounded the faith in the neighbouring countries of Central Asia,China and Tibet. The accounts of some of the Central Asian, and Tibetan scholars of the repute, is also given, who studied in Kashmir.

Kashmiri Buddhist Scholars in Central Asia and China

SAṄGHABHŪTI : Saṅghabhūti is reported to be the first Buddhist scholar of Kashmir who went to China. He had specialised in Abhidharmavibhāṣā. His name is given in Chinese transcription as Seng-kio-po-cheng and in translation as Chong hien. He reached the northern capital of China in 381 A.D. and was received by the leading Buddhist scholars of China. At their request, he translated a number of

Buddhist
texts into Chinese. He is said to have translated three works uptill 384 A.D. The most important work among these was an extensive commentary on the disciplinary code, i.e, vinaya pitaka of the sarvāstivāda school[1].

GAUTAMA SAṄGHADEVA: Gautam Saṅghadeva was the scholar of Kashmir who had specialised in Abhidharma. He reached Khan-an—the Chinese capital of the former Tsin dynasty of Fue family in 383 A.D. This was the period when Saṅghabhūti was still working in China. The name of Gautam Saṅghadeva is given in Chinese translation as Kiu-tán Seng-kia-tipo and in translation as Chong tien (community god). He came to Ch'ang-ngan in 384 A.D. and stayed in the north till 391 A.D. Being a scholar of profound knowledge, he revised the earlier translations and expalined the texts to his Chinese colleagues during his stay in the north and also acquired a knowledge of the Chinese language. He went to south China in 391 A.D. and joined the famous Buddhist Institution Lu-shan. Gautama Saṅghadeva translated here some Sanskrit texts. In 391 A.D. he translated Tridharmaka-śāstra under the Chinese title San-fa-tu-lun. He went to Nanking in 397 A.D. Here he made a deep impression on the ruling class and it is said that one of them built a monastery for him to carry on his literary work. Here too he is

reported to have translated a number of important Buddhist texts, with the assistance of his Chinese friends and Kashmirian followers. The Chinese version of Madhyamāgamasūtra which is rather similar to Majjhima nikāya of the Hīnayāna school, was completed in 397-398 A.D. He also translated Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra under the Chinese title O-phi-thān-sin-lun. In all he translated eight works into Chinese.[2]

PUNYATRĀTA : Puṇyatrāta was the Buddhist scholar of Kashmir whose name is given in Chinese transcription as Fo-jo-to-lo and in translation as Kong-to-hua. He reached China during Hun-sh period i.e.,399-415 A.D Here he came under the influence of great master-mind Kumārajīva and found a chance to work with him. In collaboration with Kumārajīva he translated in twenty-nine sections Daśādhyāya-vinaya (Sarvāstivāda vinaya) under the Chinese title Shh-sun-lun in the year 404 A.D. He was probably in Kucha when Kumārajīva was taken to China and he followed him to China to help him in the work of translation.[3]

DHARMAYAŚAS : Dharmayaśas was another Buddhist scholar of Kashmir whose name is given in Chinese transliteration as Tan-mo-ye-she and in translation as Fa-ming or Fa-Cheng (Law glory). He was a pupil of

Puṇyatrāta with whom he came in contact at the age of fourteen in Kashmir. Attaining great efficiency in the Buddhist lore, he studied the sacred texts under the guidance of his teacher Puṇyatrāta. At the age of thirty years he left the country, first travelled in various countries of Central Asia and then reached China some time between 397-401 A.D. He was in Ch'ang-ngan during the period 405-414 A.D. and translated three works into Chinese. One of them is not available, other two include :

1. Strīvivarta-vyākaraṇa-sūtra, and
2. Śāriputrābhidharma-śāstra.

Dharmayaśas is said to have returned to Central Asia after completing his work in China. It is likely that he returned to his homeland later in his life[4].

BUDDHAYAŚAS : Boddhayaśas was one of those Buddhist monks of Kashmir who were attracted to Kucha when Kumārajīva was there. His name is transcribed into Chinese as Fo-to-ye-she and translated as Kio-ming.

Buddhayaśas belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of Kashmir. He was the only son of his parents. His father was a non-believer in Buddhism who once, is said to have assaulted a Buddhist monk. Retribution came in the form of sudden paralysis of his hands. Realising his misdeed he searched for the monk and invited him to his home and honoured him well. To

show his deep reverence to the monk he offered his only son Yaśa who was at that time only thirteen years old. Yaśa was taken to distant countries and was given instructions in the Buddhist lore. At the age of twenty-seven he completed his studies and thus became a full-fledged Buddhist monk. Now, Buddhayaśas started for foreign countries. He first went to Kashgar (Su-leb) in response to an invitation from the ruler who had invited three thousand Buddhist monks on a religious occasion. Amongst such a large number of invitees the ruler was so highly impressed with the striking appearance and manners of Buddhayaśas that he invited him to live in the palace. The ruler became his devout follower. Buddhayaśaa was kept in Kashgar for a number of years. It was here that he came in contact with Kumārajīva who was travelling back to Kucha from Kashmir. Together they studied some sacred texts for some time and then Kumārajīva proceeded to Kucha.

Kucha was then invaded by the Chinese Army. The ruler of Kashgar went to its aid leaving his young prince in charge of Buddhayaśas. But Kucha was already conquered by the Chinese General. before he reached there. Kumārajīva was taken to China as a prisoner. Buddhayaśas was pained to hear this news. He remained

in Kashgar for ten years more and then went to Kucha. In Kucha he stayed for one year. He wrote a letter to Kumārajīva expressing his desire to join him. At last he could find a chance to join Kumārajīva in the Chinese capital Ch'ang-ngan. He worked with Kumārajīva for some time and himself translated some works into Chinese. Four Sanskrit works are attributed to him which he translated between 410-413 A.D.; one of these works is the translation of Ākāśagarbha-bodhisattvasūtra. He also translated Dīrghāgama and Dharma Gupta vinaya into Chinese. One more work ascribed to him is the translation of Dharm Gupta Prātimokṣa.

It is believed that Buddhayaśas returned to Kashmir after Kumārajīva's death. It is said that he was a man of high moral character and refused to accept gifts offered to him by the Chinese emperor saying that Buddhist monk had no right to accept such gifts[5].

VIMALĀKSA : Vimalākṣa was another celebrated monk of Kashmir. His name is given in Chinese transcription as Pi-mo-lo-chá and in translation as Wu ke yen. He went to Kucha and studied in the miracle monastery. This monastery is called Wang-ssu or Royal vihāra also by other writers. Here the monks came to study the vinaya. It was here that vimalākṣa acquired great

fame as a vinaya master. The Chinese traveller Yuan-chwang who visited the monastery, writes "The miracle monastery, drew learned brethren from distant places to it and it seems that these brethren came chiefly to study the vinaya. One of these great students was Vimalākṣa, popularly known as the dark eyed vinaya-master, a contemporary of Kumārajīva."[6]

Kumārajīva studied the vinaya texts with him in Kucha. Afterwards the former was taken as a prisoner to China where he started translating under royal command. Vimalākṣa also started for China reaching there in 406 A.D. In China, he met his old pupil Kumārajīva who cordially received and respected him. Vimalākṣa stayed in Ch'ang-ngan from 406 - 413 A.D., translated a number of works himself and explained the translations made by Kumārajīva to Chinese scholars. After Kumārajīvas death in 413 A.D. he went to south China, where he spent rest of his life in preaching Buddhism. Here, he is said to have, translated two works, one of them being the translation of Daśādhyāyavinaya. He died in the year 418 A.D. at the age of seventy-seven.[7]

DHARMAMITRA : Dharmamitra was another Buddhist monk of Kashmir. His name is given in Chinese transliteration as T'an-mo-mi-to and in translation as Fa Siu

("Law flourishing"). He first went to Kucha and then travelled in different parts of Central Asia. He was not allowed to proceed to China by the officials of this country. But he secretly reached Tun-huang in 424 A.D. Here he founded a monastery and planted more than one thousand trees. He then went to Nanking (south China) where he resided in the Che-huan-sse or Jetavanavihāra. He is said to have met here the great Kashmiri Buddhist monk Guṇavarman, who was at Nanking in 431 A.D. Dharmamitra continued his work of translation from 424-441 A.D. He was a great teacher of the doctrine of Dhyāna (meditation) and introduced a number of works on Dhyāna in China. He stayed in Nanking upto 433 A.D. in the Jetavanavihāra. He is said to have translated twelve texts. Ākāśagrabha-bodhisattvadhāraṇīsūtra is the only text available. He subsequently went to north China where he died in the year 442 A.D. at the age of eighty-seven years. Dharmamitra lived a quiet life, teaching the sacred texts to his disciples[8].

Kashmiri Buddhist Scholars in Tibet

ANANTA : Ananta was a Kashmiri paṇḍita who lived in Tibet during the reign of king Khri-Srong-lde-btsan (802-845 A.D.). The king invited him to translate Dharma-granthas. He had acquired full hold on both Sanskrit and Tibetan. When the Indian Ācārya

Śāntarakṣita was invited to Tibet he did not know Tibetan. It was Ananta who worked as his interpreter. Thus it was through Ananta, the teachings of Ācārya Śāntarakṣita were communicated to Tibetans. The Annals of Ladakh record that Ananta had become a translator and he used to preach about the ten forces (ten virtues), the eighteen"regions" (?) and twelve nidāna[9] (Chain of causal phenomena).

JINAMITRA : Jinamitra was a Kashmiri vaibhāṣika who hailed during 9th century . His teacher was Pūrṇavardhana. The Tibetan king Khri-Sron lde-bcan Ral-pa-can (821-836 A.D) invited him to Tibet. The invitation was sent to other teachers also. The purpose of inviting these teachers was to revise old translations in order to introduce into them the uniformity of language so as to make them easy to understand. It was in Tibet that Jinamitra received the pompous title "Āryamūlasarvāstivāda (mahā) vinayadhara Kāśmīra-vaibhāṣikācārya".

Jinamitra translated following works in collaboration with some other distinguished translators :

a) The text of the Dul-va (vinaya):

1. The Bhikṣunīprātimokṣasūtra, and
2. The Bhikṣunīvinayavibhaṅga.

(These two works were translated in collaboration with Sarvajñāmitra, Vidyākaraprabha, Dharmākara,

Dharmaśrībhadra and with the help of the Tibetan translators, Dpal-Syi lhun-po, Dpal-breegs, Klu'i rgyal-mchan and Dpal-'byor).

3. The Lalitavistāra,

4. The Karandavyūha,

5. The Mahāparinirvānasūtra, and

6. The Buddhāvataṁsakasūtra.

b) The texts of Prajñāpāramita :

1. Daśasahassikā,

2. Astasahasrikā,

3. The Sancayagāthā,

4. The Pancaśatikā,

5. The vajracchedikā, and

6. The Suvikrāntavikramīpariprcchā.

c) Jinamitra specially occupied himself in translating the vinaya section of the Bstan-'gyur. The most monumental work he translated, with Sarvajñādeva, is vinayasamuccaya. Their Tibetan assitant in this work was Klu'i-rgyal-mchan. With the latter's assiatance, Jinamitra also translated the following works of vinaya:

1. The Vinayavibhaṅgadavyākhyāna of Vinītadeva,

2. The Vinayasūtra of Guṇaprabhā,

3. The Vinayasūtratīka of Dharmamitra, and

4. The Ekottarakarmaśatāka of Guṇaprabha.

d) Jinamitra's name is associated with the translation of some Abhidharma texts as well. These works are :

1. The Prajñāptiśāstra of Mahāmaudgalyāyana,

2. The Abhidharmakośakārikā of Vasubandhu, and

3. The Abhidharmakośabhāsya by Vasubandhu.

e) Jinamitra also collaborated in translating the following works of Mādhyamika school:

1. Sūtrasamuccaya of Nāgārjuna,

2. The Yuktiśastikāvṛtti of Candrakīrti,

3. The Śiksāsamuccaya of Santideva, and

4. The Āryavajracchedikāprajñāpāramitaṭīkā.

f) Some works of Vijñānavādin school also were translated by Jinamitra with the help of other translators. The titles of the works are :-

1. The Madhyāntavibhaṅga of Maitreya and the tīkā of Vasubandhu and of Sthiramati,

2. The Āryasandhinirmānabhāsya of Asaṅga,

3. The Mahāyānasaṁgraha of Asaṅga, and

4. The Abhidharmasamuccaya of Asaṅga with its comments of bhāsya of Jinaputra and the vyākhyāna,

5. The Yogācaryabhumau Vastusaṁgraha of Asaṅga,

6. The Viṁśakākārikā of Vasubandhu,

7. The Pañcaskandhabhāsya of Pṛthvibandhu, and

8. The Prakaranaviṁśakātīkā of the Kashmiri Vinītadeva.

It is said that, following Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Pūrṇavardhana, Jinamitra further expounded the doctrine of Maitreya.

Jinamitra also translated with the help of Tibetan Ye-śes sde, the Nyāyabindhutīkā of the Kashmiri Vinītedeva.

At the request of king Khri-lde Sron bcan, Jinamitra in collabration with several other scholars, accomplished the enormous task of compiling an etymological dictionary comprising about 9500 technical expressions. This task was undertaken with a double aim, i.e., to facilitate later translations and to unify the vocabullary[10].

DĀNAŚĪLA : Kashmiri Dānaśīla was a contemporary of Jinamitra and Sarvajñādeva. He was also invited to Tibet by king Ral-pa-can. In collaboration with his Kashmiri contemporaries and other translators, Dānaśīla translated the following works:

1. The Prajñāptiśāstra (an abhidharma text) of Mahāmaudgalyāyana,
2. Two texts of the Mādhyamika school :
   a) The Yuktiśastikāvrtti of Candrakīrti, and
   b) The Śiksasamuccaya of Śāntideva and the corresponding kārikā,
3. The texts of the Vijñānavāda school :
   a) The Vimśakākārikā of Vasubandhu,
   b) The Pañcaskandhabhāsya of Prthvibandhu, and
   c) The Prakaranavimśakātīkā of the Kashmiri vinītadeva.

Dānaśīla was also one of the scholars who compiled the dictionary referred to above[11].

ŚRADDĀKARAVARMAN : Śraddākaravarman was amongst the Kashmiri collaborators of the great Tibetan translator, named Rin-Chan-bsan-po (958-1055 A.D.). He was introduced to the system of Buddhajñāna under Śāntipāda. He received instructions about the propitiation of Tārā according to the method of Ravigupta from Vāgiśvara. He taught Buddhajñāna to Rin-chen-bzan-po and the propitiation of Tārā was transmitted by him to Tathāgatarakṣita, Śraddākaravarman is the author of some short works, the longest among these being the Yogāvatāratantrārthāvatārasaṅgraha. Other works are :

a) Cycle of Saṁbāra :
   1. Tattvagarbhanāma sādhanā, and
   2. Herukāvisuddhi,

b) Cycle of Guhyasamāja (according to the teachings of Nāgārjuna):
   1. Vajrajapatikā, and
   2. Jñānavajrasamuccayatantrodbhavasaptālaṁkāra-vimocana.

c) Cycle of the Tattvasaṁgraha:
   1. Saṁkṣiptamandalasūtra and
   2. Saṁkṣiptamandalasūtravṛtti.

d) Cyle of the Sarvarahasya and of the Sarvadurgati-pariśodhana :
   1. Pratiṣṭhāvidhisaṅkṣepa.

e) Cycle of the Kriyātantra :
   1. Arapacanasādhanāvidhi of the cycle of Mañjuśrī,

2. Vajrapāṇisādhanā of the cycle of Vajrapāṇi.

f) Text concerning the sacrificial oblations (bali):

1. Madhyamabhāgatrayavidhi.

g) Various Upadeśa :

1. Bhagavatyāryatārāstotra.

Śraddākaravarman also translated a large number of works most important of which were done with the cooperation of Rin-chen-bsan-po[12].

RATNAVAJRA : Ratnavajra was originally a Kashmiri Brāhmaṇa who became a great Buddhist master. Tārānātha relates a story of his patronage according to which he was the son of brāhmaṇa named Haribhadra. The story runs as follows : Once a Kashmiri brāhmaṇa appeased Maheśvara. Thus, it was predicted that all his descendents would become renowned scholars. The prefacy came through and amongst his twenty-five descendants the last was brāhmaṇa Haribhadra. This brāhmaṇa once entered in a debate with Buddhists having staked his own creed. He was defeated in debate, as a result of which he was converted to Buddhism. Having become a Buddhist, he acquired proficiency in the doctrine. Ratnavajra was the son of this converted brāhmaṇa.

Ratnavajra was an upāsaka (a lay disciple). He studied in Kashmir upto the age of thirty under Gaṅgādhara. He learned by heart the sūtras, the tantras and all the branches of knowledge. After that he went

to Vikramaśila for further studies. In Vikramaśila he received the title of "Pandita" from the king and became the central pillar of the University there. Among his expositions there, note worthy works include the Tantrāyana, the seven treatises on Pramāṇa, the five works of Maitreya, etc., Ratnavajra returned to Kashmir. He converted many tīrthikas to the Buddhist faith and established many centres for the study of Vidyāsaṁbhāra, Sūtrālaṅkāra, Guhyasamāja, etc.

From Kashmir, Ratnavajra proceeded to Udyāna (Urgyana). It was perhaps here that he converted a Śāivaite Kashmiri brāhmaṇa, to whom he gave the name Guhyaprajñā after ordination.

Ratnavajra went to Tho-lin where he assisted in translation of several works and collaborated with the great Tibetan translator Rin-chen-baen-po. He, further visited Central Tibet where he had a chance to supervise the rebuiling of the circular terrace of Bsam-yas, which was burnt in 986 A.D. Ratnavajra supervised five hundred workers including brick-layers, carpenters, gold-smiths, black-smiths and sculptors for three years.

Ratnavajra is believed to have transmitted the Prasannapāda and the Mādhyamakāvatārabhāsya to Parahita-bhadra. Dam-pa Sans-rgyas (Paramabuddha), a native of south India, was instructed in Mahāmudrā under him.

As a logician, Ratnavajra composed the Yuktiprayoga, signifying application of reasoning. Other works of Ratnavajra which deal with the Mantrayāna are :

a) Cycle of Buddhasamayoga ;

1. Srisarvabuddhasamayogadākinījālasambāramahātantrarājanāmamandalopāyikā.

b) Cycle of Cakrasamvāra :

1. Abhisekavidhikrama,
2. Śrīcakrasamvāramandalamangalagāthā,
3. Śrīcakrasamvāramandaladevaganastotra, and
4. Śrīcakrasamvārastotra.

c) Cycle of Guhyasamāja :

1. Aksobhyavajrasādhanā.

d) Cycle of Hevajra :

1. Balikarmakrama,
2. Śrīhevajrastotra, and
3. Sarvapāpasuddhanāgnipūjāsamādhi.

e) Cycle of Mahāmāyā :

1. Mahāmāyāsadhanā,
2. Meghālokaganapatisādhanā,
3. Śrīnathacaturmukhastotra,
4. Mantrarājasamayasiddhisādhanā,
5. Āryajambhālastotra, and
6. Śrīcakrasamvāradvayavīrasādhanā.

He also composed Vajravidāranīnāmadhāranīmandalagāthākramaprakriyā. There exit several other works which are reported to have either been composed or

translated by Ratnavajra[13].

JÑĀNAŚRĪBHADRA : Jñānaśrībhadra or Jñānaśrī belonged to Kashmir. The Blue Annals state that Jñānśrī was introduced to the doctrine of Maitreya by Sajjana. According to the same authority, he went to Tibet without having been invited there. He had for his pupil and assistant Phags - pa śes-rab, who belonged to Zaṅs-dkar. Jñānaśrī played an important role in spreading of the logic and of the Abhisamaya in Tibet. In western Tibet, he accomplished an important task as an translator-interpretor. In the upper valley of the River Spiti, he settled at the monastery of Tabo which was founded by Rin-chen-bzan-po, the great Tibetan scholar. He acquired good knowledge of Tibetan language within three years. Ñi-ma śes-rab of Gñal, studied under him the Mantrayāna for seven years.

Jñānaśrī is the author of several important works, viz.,:-

1. The Āryalaṅkāvatāravrtti in seven Parivarta being a commentary on the Laṅkāvatārasūtra,
2. The Pramāṇaviniścayatīkā, commentary to the famous treatise of Dharmakīrti,
3. The Aryaprajñāpāramitanayaśatapañcāśatkatīkā,
4. The Bhagavatiprajñāpāramitahrdayavyākhyā, a commentary to the Hrdayasūtra,
5. The Sūtrālaṅkārapindārtha,

6. The Kāryakāraṇabhāvasiddhi, and

7. Āryamañjughoṣastuti duṣkaramaviśesapravartananayamālā.

He is reported to have composed some minor tāntric texts also.

Jñānaśrī translated, with Phags-pa-śes-rab, the Mūlatantrasaṃgrahahṛdayābhidhānottaratantramūlavṛtti of Suramāgamavajra. In co-operation with Chos-kyi brcon-yrus, he translated his Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā and Sūtrālaṅkārapiṇḍārtha. With Rab-zi bśes-gnen of Cog-gru, he translated the Vajravidāraṇīsādhanā of the Kashmiri Gaṅgādhara and connected texts edited by Maṇivajra and himself. Jñānśrī, together with Rab-zi bśes gnen and Blo-gros snin-po, put into Tibetan the Śīlasamvārasamayavirodha. With the assistance of Rgyal-ba śes-rab and Śā-kya bśes-gñen, he corrected the Tibetain version of the Vinayasaṃgraha and, with the help of Dge-va'i blo-gros, he translated the Vādanyāyaprakaraṇa[14].

JANĀRDANA : Janārdana was another Kashmiri collaborator of Rin-chen-bzan-po referred to above. He also collaborated with Śākya-blo-gros. In Tibet, he received the title of "Kha-che pan-chen" (Kaśmīrapaṇḍita) and Upādhyāya grammarian.

With Rin-chen-bzan-po, he translated the following works :

1. Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā of Vaghbata,

2. Astangahrdayavivrtti of Candranandana (a Kashmiri medical doctor of 10th century),
3. Prātimoksabhāsya, commentary of the Prātimoksa-mūlāgama entitled Asampramusitasmaranamātralekha (from an unknown author).
4. Tattvasārasangraha of Dharmendra.

Together they also translated some short texts including some hymns and their commentaries.

In collaboration with Sakya blo-gras, Jnārdana translated first thirty-two Jātakas of the Jātakamālā of Śūra and Udānavargavivarana of Prajñāvarman.[15]

LAKSMĪ : Kashmir has produced a great nun named Lakṣmī. She is known in Tibetan as dge-sloṅ-ma Dpal-mo. She taught Anuttaratantra to Karopa, the disciple of Maitri-pa (born 1007 or 1010 A.D.). She had been personally blessed by Ārya Avalokiteśvara (the great compassionate one) and preached the ritual of propitiating Ārya Avlokiteśvara by performing the rite of fasting. She taught it to the Pandita Ye-śes bzaṅ-po (Jñānabhadra). Her name is found at the top of the lineage of the "detailed exposition" of the cycle of Mahākārunika. In this lineage she is seen to have imparted this exposition to dpal-gyi bzaṅ-po (Śrībhadra).

This great nun is the author of some works as well. In Bstan-ǵyur there exists a Pañcakramatīkā entitled Kramārthaprakāśikā, which is attributed to

her. There exist some texts dedicated to Avalokiteśvara, which according to the colophone are the compositions of the Bhikṣunī Lakṣamī. These works include :

1. The Lokeśvarastotra,
2. The Ekādaśamukhāvalokiteśvarasya,
3. The Āryāvalokiteśvarasya stotra,
4. The Āryāvalokiteśvarastotra, and
5. The Mahākārunikastotra[16].

SUBHŪTIŚRĪŚĀNTI : Subhūtiśrīśānti was known in Tibet as Kha-che pan-chen (a great pāndita of Kashmir). This learned scholar of Kashmir was invited to Tibet by lha-bla-ma (royal monk) Ye-śes-ód, (11th century A.D.), the king of western Tibet (the grandson of Ñi-ma-mgon who himself was the great grandson of Glañ-Dar-ma).

Subhūtiśrī translated in Tibet many sūtras and śāstras of the Prajñāparamita class, viz., Astasāhasrikā, its great commentary the Abhisamayālaṅkāraloka and the Abhisamayālaṅkāraṭīkā. According to Cordier's catalogue, Subhūtiśrī further translated, with the assistance of Śākya blo-gros, the Sārotthama, the pañjikā of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra (edited by the Mahāpandita Rājācārya Ratnākaraśānti). With the assistance of Dge-baí blo-gros, he translated Śuddhimati, the pañjikā of the Astasāhasrikā. Subhūtiśrī

has also translated the Prajñāpāramitabhāvanopadeśa.

In collaboration with Dge-bai blo-gros, Subhūtiśrī translated some important works on logic which were undertaken at the order of Byaṁ-chubod (the king of western Tibet). These works included

1. The Pramāṇavārttikavrtii being a self commentary on Pramāṇavārttika by Devendrabuddhi,
2. The Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā by Śākyabuddhi, and
3. The Mañjuśrīvajrasādhanā, a tāntric text.

With Tiṅ-ṅe'jin bzaṅ-po, Subhūtiśrī corrected the Tibetan translation of Sambandhaparīkṣāprakarana and translated :

1. Yuktiprayoga of the Kashmiri Ratnavajra,
2. The Sahajaratisaṁyoga, and
3. The Śrīcakrasaṁvāradvayavīrasādhanā of Ratnavajra,

With the same collaborator, Subhūtiśrī translated some works of the Kālacakra cycle, viz., the Laksābhidhānoddhrtalaghutantrapiṇdārthavivarna and Sadaṅgayoga. Both the works are attributed to the Boddhisattva Vajrapāṇi.

Subhūtiśrī also corrected the translation of the Hevajrapiṇdārthaṭīkā done by Maitri-pa and Śes-rab grags-pa[17].

SOMANĀTHA : Somanātha, a well know Buddhist preacher of the 11th century, according to The Blue Annals belonged

to a brāhmaṇa family of Kashmir. He aptly followed his father's doctrine during his very young age. His mother introduced him to Buddhism. He studied under a Kashmiri brāhmaṇa scholar, named bzaṅ-po(Bhadra) or Sūryaketu (Ñi-ma rgyal-mtshan). Other co-mates of Somanātha were paṇḍita Somasati, Lakṣmīkara, Dānaśrī, Candrarāhula, etc.. When all were studying under Sūryaketu, paṇḍita Vinayākaramati sent to them Sekoddeśa and Sekaprakriya. All were filled with wonder after reading them. But the effect was particularly apparent on Somanātha; at once he discontinued his studies in Kashmir and proceeded in search of a capable teacher who could teach him the Kālacakra system. Reaching Magadha he met Kālacakrapāda (Dus-'kho-rba), the junior, who instructed him in the system. Thus, he accomplished the study of the complete commentary of the Kālacakra. He obtained scholarship over the Tantra itself alongwith the precepts and the initiation rite. He intended to spread the system in Tibet and when he reached Tibet the native people made provisions for him and subsidised his translation work as well. He completed the translation of Kālacakra within one year. Many translators (lo-tsa-ba) and scholars invited Somanātha to their residence in order to receive instructions from him. Somanātha is said to have

returned to India, for a short visit to remove his doubts from his teachers and initiators concerning the Kālacakra.

When Somanātha arrived in Tibet for the second time, Kalyāṇamitra Dkon-mchog-brun of Plan Yul and his disciple attended on him for a considerable time and thus pleased him. He, in his turn, bestowed on them the explanation of the Tantra and its commentary (Vimalaprabhā). He specially bestowed on them the precepts which had not been given to other Tibetan scholars. Thus was proceeded further the system in Tibet through Kalyāṇamitra of Phaṅ-Yul and his disciple.

Besides Kālacakra, Somanātha preached the secret meaning of the Pradīpodyatana in Tibet and taught Prajñā-nāmamūlamādhyamakakārikā to rtse-ba śes-rab. Having mastered Tibetan language also, he translated Śrīparamārthasevā of Jñānavajra, perhaps without the help of an interpreter.

Somanātha also translated many important texts dealing with Kālacakra with the assistance of the śes-rab grags, these include :

1. The Paramādibuddhoddhṛtaśrī Kālacakranāmatantrarāja,
2. The Vimalaprabhānāma mūlatantrānusāriṇīdvadaśasāhasrikā laghukālacakratantrarājaṭīkā. (The Sanskrit text of this work is preserved in manuscript in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal).

3. The Padminīnāmapañjikā of Kālacakrapāda,
4. The Sekoddeśa,
5. The Sekoddeśaṭīkā,
6. The Śrīnakṣatramaṇḍasādhanā ekādaśāṅga nāmā of Kālacakrapāda,
7. The Tattvagarbha sādhanā attributed to Vajrapāṇi (belonging to Saṁbāra cycle),
8. The Tattvāloka attributed to Lokanātha (belonging to the Hevajra cycle),
9. The Sekaprakṛiya (dealing with the ritual initiation),
10. The Kālacakrapādasaṁpradāya,
11. The Triyogahṛdayavyākaraṇa of Mañjughoṣakīrti, and
12. The Sahajasiddhi[18].

MAHĀJANA : Mahājana was the son of the great Kashmiri Buddhist master Ratnavajra. He worked as a collaborator with Mar-pa (lama of Tibet) and authored Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdayārthaparijñāna, being a commentary on the prajñāpāramitahṛdayasūtra. With the help of Tibetan translator, named Sen-ge rgyal-mchan, he translated his works and a treatise of Vijñānavāda, i.e., the Dharmādharmatāvibhaṅgakārikā atributed to Maitreya. He translated the vṛtti of this text by Vasubandhu in collaboration with Blo-ldan śeṣ-rab. He also translated three works of his father, Ratnavajra, viz.:

1. The Śrīcakrasaṁvāramaṇḍaladevagaṇastotra,
2. The Śrīcakrasaṁvārastotra, and

3. Āryajambhālastotra.

He also translated a letter of his son Sajjana which the latter had written to his son Sūkṣamajana. With the assistance of Gzon-nu'od, Mahājana translated majority of works connected with the Nāmasaṅgītiyoga-tantra, viz.,:

1. Āryamañjuśrīnāmasamgītisādhanā,
2. Āryamañjuśrīnāmasamgītimandalopāyikā,
3. Āryamañjuśrīnāmasamgitisarvamandalastotra,
4. Viṁśatyākārābhisamabhikramena bhagavānmañjuśrī-sādhanā,
5. Āryamañjuśrīnāmasamgītināmavrtti, and
6. Āryamañjuśrīmandalaviddhi cintamaninama.

Two more works which he translated with the help of Gzon-nu ód, include :

1. Āryamāyājālakramena tārābhattārikāsādhanā, and
2. Sadakṣaratantrakramena mandalacakropadeśasādhanā.

Mahājana also translated the vinaya text, Śrāmanera-śiksāpadasūtra of Kalyānamitra, in collaboration with the Tibetan interpretor, Gzon-nu-mchog[19].

SŪKSMAJANA : Sūkṣmajana was the son of Sajjana. He was the last Kashmiri in the line of the great Buddhist preceptors commencing from Ratnavajra. He collaborated with the great Tibetan translator Ñi-ma-grags and together they accomplished the

interpretation of the Bodhisattvayogacaryācatuhśataka-kārikā attributed to Āryadeva and its ṭīkā by Candrakīrti[20].

PARAHITABHADRA : Parahitabhadra, the Kashmiri Buddhist master is known in Tibetan as Gzan-la phan-pa bzaṅ-po. He was a pupil of Mahāpandita Somaśrī of Kashmir. Under Ratnavajra, he studied the Prasannapāda and the Mādhyamakāvatārabhāsya. These two treatises he himself confided to his students - Mahāsumati of Kashmir and the great Tibetan translator Ñi-ma-grags of Pa-cheb. To the latter goes the credit of introducing these treatises in Tibet. Another great Tibetan translator of the noble family of Rṅog, named Blo-ldan śes-rab, while in Kashmir studied under Parahita also. Parahita collaborated with several well-known Tibetan interpreters. For instance, he collaborated with the Phags-pa śes-rab, who was a pupil and assistant of Jñānaśrībhadra and with another famous interpreter Śes-rab rgyal-mchan, who assisted Atiśa as well.

Parahita performed many activities also at Tholiṅ in western Tibet, where he collaborated with Gzon-nu mchog and Dge-ba rdo-rje. Parahita is also famous as a great logician but there exists only one work on logic translated by him, i.e, the Sambandha-parīkṣānusāra. Intresting himself in other spheres, Parahita composed a short text on ritual, the

Mandalābhiśekavidhi. He also composed two philosophical commentries, viz.,:

1. The Śūnyatāsaptativivrtti, and
2. The Sūtrālaṅkārādiślokadvayavyākhyāna, being a commentary on the two initial ślokas of the Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra. In association with the interpreter Phags-pa śes-rab, he translated two texts of Sambāra series. These are :

1. The Pindārthaprakāśikā, and
2. Yoginīsancāryatantranibandhapadārthaprakāśanāma by Vīravajra.

At Tho-liṅ, he is said to have translated his own writings in association with Gzon-nu mchog and many other works with Śes-rab rgyal-mchan.[21]

BHAVYARĀJA : Bhavyarāja was a Buddhist logician of Kashmir. He was the principal collaborator of Bloldan śes-rab. With this great translator, he interpreted texts on ligic at Cakradhara and at the Ratnaraśmivihāra at Gron-khyer dpe-med (Anupampura). Together they translated two works of Dharmottara, viz., the Apohaprakarana and the Ksanabhangasiddhi and also the pratibandhasiddhi of Śaṅkarānanda. Both re-arranged the interpretation of the Pramānavārttikakārikā which was earlier done by Subhūtiśrīśānti and Dge-bai blo-gros. At Cakradhara they translated the Pramānavārttikālaṅkāra of Prajñākaragupta.

For this enormous enterprise Bhavyarāja received the title "dpal-ldan kha-che'i rigs-pa yi-geng-gi nor-bu skal-ldan-rgyal-po" (Śrīmat Kāśmīranyāyacūdāmani Bhavyarāja)[22].

KUMĀRAŚRĪ : Kumāraśrī was a learned scholar. The revision of the translation of the Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra of Prajñākaragupta was accomplished under the control of Kumāraśrī alongwith another Kashmiri named Śūnyaśrī. They were helped by the Pandits arriving from Vikramaśilā and it was done in the presence of masters from Dbus, from Gcaṅ, from Ru-bzi, from Khams, from Mṅā-ris and from China. The place where these activities were performed was Tho-lin in western Tibet at the vihāra of Dpal-Dpe-med lhun-gyis grub-pa (Śrī Anupamanirābhoga-vihāra)[23].

TILAKAKALAŚA : Tilakakalaśa or Tilakalaśa is known in Tibetan as Thig-le-bum-pa. The name is some times rendered as Bindukalaśa. He occupied himself mostly in the Mādhyamika philosophy and composed four hymns in Tibetan. He collaborated with Ñi-ma grags and Blo-ldan śes-rab.

Before going to Tibet, he translated in Kashmir with Ñi-ma grags the Mādhyamakāvatāra of Candrakirti and the self commentary in 3550 ślokas. Together, both re-arranged the translation of the Mādhyamakāvatārakārikā done by Kṛṣṇapāda and Chul-khrims rgyal-pa. They also translated Śrīguhyasamājamandalopāyikāvimśaviddhi of

Nāgabodhi. The work is attached to the school of the Gūhyasamāja of Nāgārjuna.

In collaboration with Blo-ldan śes-rab, Tilakakalaśa reviewed the interpretation of the Śiksāsamuccaya of Śāntideva done by Dānaśīla, Jinamitra and Ye-śes-sde during the 9th century A.D. Together they also translated two texts dealing with the Prajñāpāramitā (perfection of wisdom) in 8000 stanzas. The texts include : Āryaprajñāpāramita Samgrahakārikā of Dignāga, also known as Astasāhasrikāpindārtha and its commentary in 540 ślokas by Triratnadāsa. He also translated the following fifteen hymns :

1. The Vāgiśvarastotra,
2. The Āryamañjuśrīstotra,
3. The Āryavāgiśvarastotra,
4. The Lokeśvarasimhanāda nāma stotra,
5. Prajñāpāramitastotra,
6. Acintyastava,
7. Stutyatītastava,
8. Niruttarastava,
9. Āryabhattārakamañjuśrīparamārthastuti,
10. Āryamañjuśrībhattārakakarunāstotra,
11. Astamahāsthānacaityastotra,
12. Astamahāsthanacaityastotra,
13. Dvādaśakāranayastotra,
14. Vandanāstotra, and
15. Narakoddhāra

of these, the first four are attributed to Tilakakalaśa

himself and the rest to Nāgārujna[24].

KANAKAVARMAN : Kanakavarman was a Kashmiri bhiksu who is known through his work on Mādhyamika philosophy and Prajñāpāramitaśāstra. He collaborated with Rin-chen-bzaṅ po (958-1055 A.D.) in Tibet in translating the Śrīsarvadurgatipariśodhanapretahomavidhi of Ānandagarbha. At Lhasa, he translated in collaboration with Ñi-ma-grags, Sragdharāstotra of Sarvajñāmitra and both corrected the following important translations in the vihāra of Ra-mo-che at Lhasa :

1. Prasannapāda of Candrakīrti,
2. Mādhyamakāvatāra of Candrakīrti, and
3. Bodhicittavivarna of Nāgārjuna.

Kanakavarman stayed in the Pu-raṅs situated on the slopes of the Ri-bo chen-po-spos-kyi nad ldaṅ-ba (i.e., Gandhamādānamahāgiri), where he translated the commentary of the Abhidharmakośa, the Laksanānusārinī by Pūrnavardhana. This most considerable task was accomplished in the company of Ñi-ma-grags. Kanakavarman translated the Pramānasamuccya of Dignāga, in collaboration with Dad-Pa'i śes-rab, and thus ranking among the interpreters of logic too. The other works he translated in collaboration with Ñi-ma-grags include :

1. Rājaparikathā ratnāvali,
2. Pratisthāvidhisamksepa of Sraddhākaravarman, and

3. Ratnasukośa of Nāgārjunagarbha (text presented as Mādhyamika).

Lastly Kanakavarman collaborated with Chos-'bar (1044-1089 A.D.) and together both made the Tibetan version of Cittaparīkṣā of Āryaśīla[25].

JAYANANDA : Jayananda a native of Kashmir was another amongst the assistants of the great Tibetan translator Ñi-ma- grags. His name and carrier are constantly associated with that of the Tibetan translator of Khu named Mdo-sde'bar (1070-1141 A.D.).

The Blue Annals record that he was a reincarnation of the king Sṛon-bcan sgam-po and a disciple of Kālacakṛapāda, junior. He was also known in Tibet as the Kha che pan-chen (the great Kashmiri pandita).

Jayananda mostly occupied himself with the Mādhyamika philosophy espacially on the Mādhyamakāvatāra of Candrakīrti. He edited a ṭīkā of it, i.e., the Arthaprakāśikā. He further translated this ṭīkā into Tibetan in the company of Kun-dge'grags at the vihāra of Khyad-par-mkhar-sku, in Chan-si. Another work, dealing with the Mādhyamika philosophy composed and translated by him is Tarkamudgarakārikā. A commentary on it was edited by a student of Jayananda, named Rma-bya Byaṅ-chub ye-śes, alongwith Khu-ston and a great specialist on Mādhyamika philosophy.

Jayananda translated Sūtrasamuccaya of Atiśa in

collaboration with Ñi-ma-grags and Mdo-sdo'bar. He is reported to have translated some works of Nāgārjuna as well[26].

KUMĀRAPRAJÑĀ : Kumāraprajñā was a monk of Kashmir who worked as an assistant of Jayananda in the beginning of twelfth century A.D. He was the copyist of the Sūtrasamuccayaparikathā and translated Aksaraśataka and its vrtti at Groṅ-khyer dpe-med (Anupamapura)[27].

GUṆĀKARAŚRĪBHADRA : Guṇākaraśrībhadra was a Kashmiri Buddhist belonging to a monastery of Groṅ-khyer dpe-med (Anupamapura). He had the honour of being the teacher (guru) of lha-bla-ma si-ba ód (a king of western Tibet, 11th/12th century A.D.), With his royal pupil, he translated a text of hetuvidyā, the Tattvasaṁgrahakārikā of Śāntirakṣita. He translated the Boddhicittavivarna of Nāgārjuna in collaboration with Rab-zi b'ses-gñen of Cog-gru[28].

SUGATAŚRĪ : Sugataśrī was a Kashmiri pandita who was invited by a scholar of gÑags to Yar-kluṅs (in Tibet). He became a teacher of a native of mNa'-ris named Byaṅ-chub dge-mjes (born in 1084 A.D.). Sugataśrī taught him the Prajñāpāramitā and also the five treatises of the Bhattāraka Maitreya.

Sugataśrī, in co-operation with Kun-dge'rgyal-mChan, translated Mahātmakīrtidhvajastotra and with Khro-phu, he translated the Svapnatāropāyikā of

Candramitra. He also translated Āryamañjuśrīnāma-saṃgītivṛttiamṛtabindupratyālokanāma[29].

ŚĀKYAŚRĪBHADRA : Śākyaśrībhadra[30] was last of the Kashmiri scholars who acquired great fame in Buddhist learning. He was born in 1127 A.D. He went to Vikramasila for his studies where he became the student of Śubhākara. According to Rahul Sankrtyayana, he received initiation (dikshā) at the hands of Sukhaśrī and studied under many teachers, viz., Ravigupta, Candragupta, Vikhyātadeva, Vinayaśrī, Abhayakīrti and Raviśrījñāna. He became a great scholar of his time and received the honour of becoming the teacher of the king of Magadha. He was appointed to the highest post of the Vikramasila mahāvihāra.

It was after the raid of Muhammad ibn-Bakhtyar (about 1197 A.D.) who destroyed the two great Universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila, that Śākyaśrībhadra went to Jagaddala (Bengal), and stayed there for three years. But on the fall of that state also, Śākyaśrī went to Nepal. In Nepal, he lived with nine pandits, such as paṇḍita Vibhūticandra and Dānaśīla of Jagaddala; Saṅghaśrī of Nepal and Sugataśrī etc., The Tibetan scholar called Khru-phu, who later wrote a biography of Śākyaśrī, also met him in Nepal. It was at the request of Khro-phu that Śākyaśrī went to Tibet in 1200 A.D. According to

Rahul Sankrtyayana and The Blue Annals, he lived in Tibet for ten years. He worked intensively with Tibetan scholars and travelled about in order to visit some monasteries. He was simply known as Kha-che pan-chen (the great pandita of Kashmir) in Tibet. He had a considerably disciplinary importance in introducing the third tradition (of the vinaya) in Tibet. Among his students noteworthy are : Sa-skya Pan-chen (the great pandita of Sa-skya) named Kun-dge'rgyal-mchan (1182-1251 A.D.); Byaṅ-chub dpal (1196-1231 A.D.) and Chos-rje dpal (1196-1264 A.D.). In the monastery of Sa-skya, Śākyaśrī functioned as the superior of the monastery. He worked extensively particularly with Khro-Phu with whose assistance he did a majority of his translations. Śākyaśrī translated majority of his own writings and also some other minor works. Some works which he translated include:

1. Vajrapādasārasaṁgrahapañjikā of Nāropā,
2. The Yuganaddhaprakāśa nāmasekaprakrityā of Rāhulaśrīmitra,
3. The Śrīmañjuvajrādikramābhisamayasamuccaya-niśpannayogāvalināma of Abhayakaragupta.

Śākyaśrī also corrected translations of some works,viz;

1. Śrīsamputatantrāṭīkā āmñyamañjarināma of Abhayakaragupta done by Buddakīrti, and

2. The Pramāṇavārttikakārikā of Dharmakīrti.

Nostalgia for his native province made Śākyaśrī to come back to Kashmir where he died in 1225 A.D. at the age of 98 years. He did his best to restore the waning faith in the valley as is indicated from the following quotation cited by Jean Naudou[31]: "Although the doctrine was being spread in Kashmir, the monks were very few. The master of the Law (that is to say, Śākyaśrī) increased the number of the monks and of the sūtra. The king, who had become a heretic, was reestablished in the doctrine, the Mahāpaṇḍita restored the vihāra and the ruined statues."

Śākyaśrī is only an author of minor texts. His activities mostly deal with the Kālacakra, the Nāmasaṅgīti and the cult of Tārā. As stated in The Blue Annals[32] his name occurs in the fourth lineage of the Kālacakra. Same authority quotes[33]: "The prophecy of Tārā to Śākayaśrī about his becoming the Buddha Bhāgīrathī of the Bhadrakalpa (i.e., one of the thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa)." He was the last Indian to transmit the ritual of Tārā expounded by Raviguptа and he was the last also in transmission of the Pramāṇavārtika. His works include :

a) Cycle of the Kālacakra:

1. Śrīkālacakragananopadeśa,
2. Śrīkālacakragananopadeśa,

3. Pañcagrahapratigananopadeśa,

4. Pañcagrahapratigananopadeśa, and

5. Vajrapādagarbhasaṁgraha Pañjikā.

b) Cycle of the Tārā :

1. Āryatārābhaṭṭārikopadeśāśrayasannamaranāmnāya, and

2. Āryatārāsādhanā,

c) Cycle of Avalokiteśvara :

1. Siṁhanādaraksācakra,

2. Saṁksiptamoghapāśasādhanā,

3. Amoghapāśabalividhi, and

4. Āryāmoghapāśaposadhavidhyāmnāya.

d) Cycle of the Utpādanakrama :

1. Viśuddharanacaryopadeśa.

e) Cycle of Nāmasaṁgīti :

1. Nāmasaṁgītivacanopadeśa.

f) Cycle of Mañjuśrī :

1. Mañjuśrīkālacakra.

g) Cycle of Maitreya :

1. Āryamaitreyasādhanā.

h) Cycle of Jambhāla :

1. Āryakrsnajambhālasādhanā.

i) Other texts :

1. Mandalavidhi,

2. Saptāṅgasaddharmacaryāvatāra,

3. Bodhisattvamārgakramasaṁgraha,

4. Mahāyanopadeśagāthā, and

5. Kālapūjāmahācatuṣkakārikā (a hymn).

SARVAJÑĀŚRĪRAKṢITA : Sarvajñāśrīrakṣita is known in Tibetan as Thans-cad mkhyen dpal bsrun-ba. He belonged to Kashmir and worked at Śa-skyā monastery in western Tibet. He translated Nyāyapraveśa nāma-pramāṇaprakaraṇa in collaboration with [illegible] Grags-pa rgyal - mchan dpal bzaṅ-po, probably the fifth descendant of Śa-skyā (1147-1216 A.D.)[34].

VIMALAŚRĪBHADRA : Vimalaśrībhddra was a Kashmiri who lived in 14th century A.D. He is the author of following works :

1. Pañcāśikatippaṇi,
2. Kulālokeśvarabhāvanākrama,
3. Anujñāptikriyākrama, and
4. Paramagurupuṇyaśrīnāmastotra.

He also translated some works into Tibetan with a famous interpreter called Blo-gros brtan pa, who received the title of "Skad-gñis smra-baḥi dban-po" ('the prince of interpreters'), he translated the Suviśādasaṁputa attributed to Taṅkādāsa. This work is an important commentary of the Hevajratantra. With the same collaborator, he translated two of his own works, viz., Kulālokeśvara bhāvanākrama and the Anujñāptikriyākrama. With another interpreter of Yar-kluṅs, called Brcon grus gzon-nu, he translated the Pañcāśikatippaṇi[35].

DHARMADHARA : Dharmadhara was a Kashmiri who, in collaboration with Grags-pa rgyal-mchan of Yar-kluṅs, who was a pupil of Śes-rab sen-ge (1251-1315 A.D), translated tha following works :

1. Śekoddeśatīkā of Nāropā,
2. Kulālokanāthasādhanāloka of Mahiman,
3. Jambhālastotra attributed to Vikramāditya,
4. Sambuddhabhāśitapratimālokasamavivarṇa,
5. Pratimālakṣanā of the Mahāśrī Ātreya, and
6. Sāmudrikā nāma tanulakṣaṇaparīkṣā of Nāropā[36].

SUMANAŚRĪ : Sumanaśrī was a Kashmiri Paṇḍita who axpounded the cycle of Padmajāla to the great Tibetan scholar Bu-ston (1290-1364 A.D.) , with whom he translated the following works :

1. The Padmajālodbhavasādhanā,
2. The Padmāvalokiteśvarasya Padmajālakramenabhagavānmaṇḍalapūjāviddhi,
3. Navaśloka of Kambalapāda, and
4. Āryasaptaślokikā bhagavatīprajñāpāramitānāmasūtra[37].

Central Asian and Tibetan Scholars Educated in Kashmir

KUMĀRAJĪVA : Celebrated Central Asian Buddhist scholar Kumārajīva's biography is preserved in a Chinese work entitled Kao seng tchoam (ch.II) , which was compiled

in 519 A.D. The other Chinese sources which also furnish life account of Kumārajīva are Tch'ou San tsang kisi compiled in 520 A.D.[38] and Ciu-mo-lo-shi of uncertain date[39].

Kumārajīva's father Kumārāyana (Kiu-mo-yen), a native of Kashmir exercised the rights of hereditary ministers in an Indian state. Renouncing his claim to ministership, Kumārāyana became a Buddhist monk. He left India for Kucha in Central Asia and was received well by the king. The latter requested him to be his Rājaguru. Attaining the position of a royal preceptor, king's sister named Jīvā fell in love with him and married him. A son was born to them at Karashahr in 344 A.D., who was named Kumārajīva, combining the names of his parents. Soon after Kumārajīva's birth, his mother Jīvā was converted to Buddhism. She turned a nun taking herself the responsibility of her son's upbringing.

Kumārajīva was brought to Kashmir at the age of nine to gain a thorough grounding in Buddhist literature and philosophy. In Kashmir, Kumārajīva was entrusted to a Sarvāstivādin scholar Bandhudatta (Pān-teon-ta-to). Kumārajīva learnt Madhyamāgama and Dīrghāgama under his learned teacher. After three years stay in Kashmir, Kumārajīva returned to Kucha alongwith his mother. Kumārajīva's intellegence and manner won him

many admirers among his friends and teachers and it is said that on Kumārajīva's departure, many Kashmiri scholars accompanied him to Kucha. On the way he visited several centres of Buddhist studies in Central Asia. While on their journey to Kucha, Kumārajīva and his mother met an arhat who predicted a great future for Kumārajīva. The arhat prophesied if the mother guarded her son against the temptations of youth and if he reamined blameless till his age of thirty-five years, one day he would be able to propogate the doctrine of the Buddha among the common masses and thus bring them salvation. In Kashgar enroute Kucha he studied the Abhidharma with six pādas. It was here that he was introduced by Sūryasoma (Sūryasena) to the Mahāyāna doctrine. Sūryasena was the propogator of Nāgārjuna's theory in Kashmir[40]. Kumārajīva made a special study of the Mādhyamika treatises. The king of Kashgar wanted to retain him in his court but Kuchean king sent messangers asking him to return. So Kumārajīva was constrained to return and was welcomed by the king personally in Kucha.

At the age of twenty, Kumārajīva received regular ordination living in the new convent of the Kuchean king. A Kashmiri vinaya master Vimalākṣa, who travelled from Kashmir to Kucha and

thence to China introduced him to Sarvāstivāda vinaya. He studied the vinaya in ten sections in Kucha. Hence, Kumārajīva acquired great proficiency in all branches of the Buddhist learning and his fame spread far and wide. Buddhists from Khotan, Kashgar, Yarkand and other parts of eastern Turkestan were attracted towards him.

While Kumārajīva was in Kucha, Ku-k'ien the Chinese emperor of the former Tsin dynasty sent an envoy to request Kuchean king to send Kumārajīva to China. The king refused to send the pious monk. So the Chinese emperor sent his general Lu-kuang to subdue Kucha. Kuchean king was defeated and Kumārajīva was taken as prisoner to China. Kumārajīva was already known to Chinese people. He was brought to Chinese capital Ch áng-ngan in 401 A.D. where he was welcomed by the Chinese emperor Yao Hhin of the second Tsin dynasty. The Chinese emperor made him his Rājaguru and requested him to propogate the Buddhist faith in his empire. Kumārajīva organised a translation bureau where the Buddhist scriptures were translated into Chinese language. To the bureau eight hundred scholars were attached and a marvellous work of translation was accomplished under Kumārajīva's headship. Being himself an ardent follower of the new faith, the king held in his hands

the original texts as the work of translation was going on. It is reported that under Kumārajīva's supervision more than three hundred volumes (works) were translated and Nangio's catalgue attributes fourty-nine works to Kumārajīva.

Kumārajīva is found at his best in his translations. He was a man of genius and had command over both the languages, i.e., Sanskrit as well as Chinese. He wrote Chinese in a new charming style of his own. His style is considered more beautiful and charming than that of the great Chinese writer Yuan chwang. Besides a large number of translation work, two original works, viz., a treatise on "tattva" in two chapters and a commentary on "Vimalakīrtisūtra" are attributed to Kumārajīva. Through-out his stay in China he continued his devotion towards the propogation of Buddhism with his deep knowledge of Buddhist philosophy and its various schools. His activities could work a revolution in the Buddhist religion and literature in China. He had a large following among the Chinese Buddhists. Some of these became famous authors of Buddhist treatises. Famous Chinese traveller Fa-hien also was one of his disciples. It was Kumārajīva who advised him (Fa-hien) to write his Account of the Buddhist Kingdoms. While Kumārajīva was earning a fame in China his teacher Vimalākṣa

came to China from Kucha. Kumārajīva received his teacher cordially and gave him great respect.

Kumārajīva died in 413 A.D. and while on his death bed he advised his followers to believe his works but not his life. "The lotus grows in the mud", Kumārajīva advised, "Love the lotus but not the mud". He is regarded as the first teacher of mādhyamika doctrine and an expounder of the satyasiddhi school and also of the nirvāna school in China.

RIN CHEN BZAN-PO : The great Tibetan translator and scholar Rin Chen-bzan-po was born in the year 958 A.D.[41] His biography was composed by Khri-than-Jñāna according to which he was ordained at the age of thirteen by the upādhyāya ye-śes-bzaṅ-po in mÑa-ris. It was the year 970 A.D.[42] In his young age Rin Chen-bzan-po came to Kashmir and studied here numerous śāstras (treatises) on the mantrayāna and also works belonging to the sūtra class[43]. He is said to have received his education from seventy-five panditas from whom he heard the exposition of numerous treatises on tantra. Kashmiri Gaṅgādhara was one of his teachers[44]. Returning back from Kashmir as a scholar he translated many texts inclusive of sūtras and mantras. He mainly studied the prajñāpāramita and the tantras. For these he composed extensive explanations. He taught the rite of initiation, i.e., abhiseka and

the performance of propitiations, i.e., sādhanā. He was mainly responsible for the later spread (i.e., after the persecution of lań-Dar-ma) of the tantras in Tibet. Also, the later spread was greater than the early spread of the tantras[45].

For becoming a great master and expounder of all the basic texts of the prajñāpāramita and tantra classes, he is said to have journeyed to Kashmir three times. He also invited many panditas from Kashmir to Tibet where he mainly expounded the yoga-tantra. He was bestowed the dignity of "chief priest" and of vajrācārya by bLa-chen po Lha-lde btan. It is said that in sPu-hrańs he was presented with the estate of zer (the word in Tibetan means "beam of light"). Besides his literary engagements he also built many temples and stūpas and also erected images[46]. It was perhaps for his various enterprises that he was called Mahāpurusa[47] and also Purushottama[48].

As already noted, Rin-chen-bzan-po specially preached in Tibet the tantras, i.e. the yoga and the Anuttara-yoga-tantras. He possessed both the knowledge as well as the practice of spiritual attainment through yoga. The works translated by him belonging to this class include[49]:

1. Tattvāloka (Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha-mahā-yānābhisamaya-nāma-tantra-tattvālokakārī-nāma-vyākhyā). It is a commentary on the

sarvatathāgatatattvasamgraha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra composed by the ācarya Ānandagarbha.

2. An incomplete commentary on śrī paramādanāmamahāyānakalparāja by ācārya Ānandagarbha.
3. The rite and ceremony of rDo-rje'byuṅ-ba composed by Ānandagarbha.
4. The Mahājāla-mahātantrarāja together with an exposition of the text by ācarya Ānandagarbha entitled Māyājāla-mahātantrarājaṭīkā-ākhyā.
5. The Sarvarahasyanāma-tantrarāja alongwith a commentary by the ācarya Śanti-pa entitled Śrī-sarvarahasyam - bandharahasyapradīpa-nāma.

Rin chen bzan po is reported to have expounded also the Guhyasamāja tantra. It is also said that he was the first who introduced this system in Tibet[50]. He translated this tantra with its commentary the pradīpodyotana-nāma-ṭīkā and also other commentaries. He also translated many minor texts on the utpattikrama and sampannakrama degrees[51].

The works belonging to prajñāpāramitā class which he taught and translated are[52]:

1. Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā,
2. Ārya-pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitopadeśa-śāstrābhisamayālaṁkāravṛtti,
3. The Abhisamayālaṁkāra āloka.

Rin chen bzan-po had a number of Kashmiri collaborators. Ratnavajra was one of them. Rin-chen-

bzan-po translated some of his works[53]. Śraddhākara-varman was his another Kashmiri collaborator. The most important works translated by Śraddhākara were done in co-operation with Rin chen bzan-po. Śraddhākara also taught him the Buddhajñāna[54]. Another Kashmiri collaborator of Rin chen bzan-po was Janārdana. Together they translated many texts[55]. Kanakavarman also collaborated with him. Both translated the Śrīsarvadurgatipariśodhanapretahomavidhi of Ānandagarbha[56].

Rin chen bzan-po had also a large number of disciples. They were from mNa'-ris, dbus and gTsan. Amongst all these disciples four were the main, known as his "four spiritual sons". They were : The junior translator Legs-pa'i śes-rab, Gur-'sin br Tson-'grus rgyal-mtshan of Man-nan, gžon-nu śes-rab of Gra and Skyi-nor Jñāna. Amongst these four disciples the junior translator Legs-pai śes-rab seems to have attained the main position. He is seen later having the same disciples as those of Rin chen bzan-po. And if the latter was not available to some disciples they would prefer to go to Legs-p'ai śes-rab[57].

When Rin chen bzan-po was eighty-five (1042 A.D.) the great master Atiśa arrived in mNa-ris[58]. Rin chen bzan-po invited him to his own residence at the vihāra of mtho-ldin. Both had exchange of ideas. After that the master taught him the "Magic mirror of the vajrayāna". Rin chen bzen-po was greatly impressed

by him and requested him to correct some of his translated works. These works included the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, the viṁśatiālokā and the great commentary on the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramita. Amongst a large number of his teachers it was only Atiśa who made Rin chen bzan-po to meditate[59]. He taught him and his disciples the tantra of śrī-saṁvāra. Rin chen bzan-po composed a commentary on a sādhanā of saṁvāra according to the method of Atiśa[60] and practised "one pointed" mediatation for ten years. He had a vision of the maṇḍala of śrī-saṁvāra[61]. It is stated that Atiśa invited him to accompany him to Central Tibet (dbus) as an interpreter. But Rin chen bzan-po could not accept the invitation in view of his old age[62].

Rin chen bzan-po passed away at the age of ninety-seven (1055 A.D.). At the time of his funeral, it is said that heavenly music was heard and there was a shower of flowers. After the cremation, no remains left behind excepting a red coloured śarīra resembling a mañjarī berry. These relics disappeared to heaven soon after with the sound of thunder[63].

BLO-LDAN ŚES-RAB : This scholar of Tibet was born in 1059 A.D. in the family of rNog. He is also known as rNog lo-tsā-ba. He attended the religious council in the year 1076 A.D. when he was very young. This

Council was held by king (mṅa-'bdog) rtse-lde in company of other scholars. Blo-ldan śes-rab came to Kashmir for his studies. He studied in Kashmir for seventeen years[64]. He heard the exposition of the "five treatises of the Blessed Maitreya" from Kashmiri pandita Sañjana[65]. He returned back to Tibet in the year 1092 A.D. At this time his age was about thirty-five years[66]. For the rest of his life he laboured extensively for the welfare of living beings. He started the custom of preaching the texts of Mahāyāna-mādhyamaka in small monasteries and other monastic schools. He particularly, alongwith his disciples gave expositions on the fundamental texts of the system, viz., the prajñāpradīpamūlamādhyamakavṛtti[67]. He also founded the lineage known as the New Nyāya in Tibet[68]. He is also seen as presiding over the assemblies[69].

Blo-ldan śes rab also went to Nepal where he heard the precepts of the vajravarāhī cycle under Ha-nu dkar-po. He translated two treatises composed by sTaṅ-ñid Tiṅ-'dzin belonging to this system[70].

Among his Kashmiri collaborators Mahājana, Bhavyarāja and Tilakakalaśa are noteworthy. He collaborated with Mahājana in translating the vṛtti of Dharmādharmatāvibhaṅgakārika attributed to Maitreya[71]. Kashmiri Bhavyarāja was the principal

collaborator of Blo-ldan-śes-rab. Both interpreted and translated texts on logic. They translated the Apohaprakarana and the Ksanabhaṅga-siddhi of Dharmottara and also the Pratibandhasiddhi of Saṅkarānanda. Both rearranged the interpretation of the Pramānavārttika-kārikā and also translated the pramānavārttikālaṅkāra[72]. Tilakakalaśa also collaborated with Blo-ldan śes-rab. They reviewed the interpretation of the Śikśāsamuccaya of Śāntideva. Also, they translated two texts dealing with Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramita, viz., Āryaprajñāpāramitasaṁgrahakārikā and its commentary in 540 ślokas by Triratnadāsa[73].

Many disciples of Blo-ldan-śes rab prepared the copies of texts which were included in the famous Tibetan literary collections bKa'-ǵyur and bsTan-ǵyur[74]. His chief disciple bLo-gros'byun-gnas of Gro-lun held in high esteem all his teachings and composed numerous commentaries on tantras and sūtras[75].

Thus becoming an abbot of the Mādhyamika and the Nyāya systems and also of the "Five treatises of Maitreya", rNog lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan śes rab passed away at the age of fifty-one in the year 1109 A.D.[76].

ÑI-MA-GRAGS : Ñi-ma-grags was a native of the upper district of upper and lower sPa-tshab in Phan-yul. When he was a young man he came to Kashmir. Here, he

studied the Mādhyamika doctrine under many panditas. Sañjana's two sons were also amongst his teachers[77]. He also studied under Parahitabhadra who taught him the prasannapāda and the Mādhyamakāvatāra-bhāsya which he later introduced in Tibet[78]. He studied in Kashmir for twenty-three years. On his returning back from Kashmir he was presented a large turquoise called "Phog-sgur" by the monks of sPu-hraṅs-pa. They also requested him to translate the commentary on the Abhidharma composed by Pūrṇavardhana, which he accepted[79]. Kanakavarman collaborated with him in this work[80].

Ñi-ma-grags established the teachings of the Mādhyamika system in Tibet. The great scholar of Tibet Sar-ba-pa (born 1070 A.D.) praised his teachings of the Mādhyamika. He also gave his assistance to him and made some corrections[81]. It is said that in the beginning Ñi-ma-grags did not have large following in Phan-yul. Ser-ba-pa sent many of his own disciples to study the Mādhyamika system[82]. Through his disciples the teachings of the Mādhyamika system spread throughout dbus and gTsan. After transferring his monastery to upper and lower Yar-kLuṅs, Ñi-ma-grags taught there the Mādhyamika system for a considerable time. Thus he diseminated widely the Mādhyamika system in Tibet[83]. His name comes after Ratnavajra and

parahita in the lineage of Mādhyamika system[84]. He prepared the following translations of the commentaries by Ācarya Candrakīrti belonging to Mādhyamika system[85]:

1. Mūlamādhyamakavṛtti-prasannapāda-nāma, commentary on Mūlamādhyamakakārikās,
2. Mādhyamakāvatārabhāṣya-nāma, commentary on the Mādhyamakāvatāra in collaboration with Tilakalaśa. Both also re-arranged the translation of the Mādhyamakāvatārakārikā[86].
3. Yukti-śastikāvṛtti commentary on Yukti-śastikā.

Ñi-ma-grags also compared these works with the texts from Magadha at Ra-mo-che. Kashmiri Kanakavarman assisted him in this work[87]. Both, also translated Sragdharāstotra of Sarvajñāmitra[88]. They also corrected the following important translations[89]:

1. Rājaparikathā ratnāvali,
2. Pratiṣṭhāvidhisaṁkṣepa of Śraddhākaravarman,
3. Ratnasukośa of Nāgārjunagarbha.

In collaboration of Kashmiri Sūkṣmajana, Ñi-ma-grags interpreted the Bodhisattvayogacaryācatuhśataka-kārikā attributed to Āryadeva and its ṭīkā by Candrakīrti[90]. With another Kashmiri assistant Jayananda, he translated Sūtrasamuccaya of Atiśa. Mdo-sde'bar also collaborated with them in this work[91].

Ñi-ma-grags later, also felt attracted towards

the teachings of Guhyasamāja and heard its exposition from the scholar Sun-ke. He did not like it in translation.So he prepared a new translation of this tantra alongwith its branches with the help of Tilakalaśa of Kashmir.The latter acting as pandita taught it in Tibet.[92] One work belonging to this system Ñi-ma-grags translated in collaboration with Tilakakalaśa is : Śrīguhyasamājamandalopāyikāvimśavidhi of Nāgabodhi[93].

Ñi-ma-grags is also said to have translated Uttara tantra and its commentary[94]. With the pandita Mndita he revised more than three hundred ślokas of the first part of Śunyatā-saptati-vrtti, the commentary on Śūnyatā-saptati[95].

Owing to pauscity of the source material the history of Buddhism in Soviet Central Asia or Western Turkestan has not been fully told and it is not known what part did the Kashmiri missionaries play in this part of Central Asia.The names of Parthian,Greek and Kushāṇa Buddhist teachers of Soviet Central Asia are well known and Litvinsky gives to them the credit of disseminating the Buddhist gospel in Eastern Turkestan and China[96].But no name of Kashmiri Buddhist scholar who worked in this part of Asia has yet come to light. The account of a celebrated monastery in Balkh called Nava vihāra (Nav bahār) is known from several sources[97] and the pioneering role played by the Buddhist teachers of the monastery called the pramukhas or pārmaks(changed to

Barmaks in Arabic) in the development of Islamic sciences after their conversion to Islam is too well known. The tradition that these pramukhas were descendants of a priestly brāhmaṇa family of Kashmir who very early migrated to Balkh though not corraborated by any definite evidence has not altogether been rejected.

— o —

1. Bagchi, P.C., India and China, Calcutta, 1981, pp.46, 275.

2. ibid., pp.47-48, 226;
also cf., Bose, P.N., The Indian Teachers in China, Madras, 1923, p.54.

3. Bagchi, P.C., op.cit., pp.47-48, 274;
Bose, op.cit., pp.69-70

4. Bagchi, op.cit., pp.47, 265;
Bose, op.cit., P. 71.

5. Bagchi, op.cit., pp. 48 ff, 259-60;
Bose, op.cit., p.71.

6. Watters, op.cit., p.63.

7. Bagchi, op.cit., pp. 58, 276-77;
Bose, op.cit., p.69.

8. Bagchi, op.cit., pp. 52, 263;
Bose, op.cit., p.73.

9. Sankrtyayana, Rahul, Tibet Me Bauddha Dharma (in Hindi), Allahabad, 1948, pp. 12, 13;
Naudou, Jean, Buddhists of Kashmir, New Delhi, pp. 97-98.

10. Naudou, op.cit., pp.100, 101, 103-5;
also cf. Tāranātha, op.cit., p. 285;
Roerich, op.cit., p.344.

11. Naudou, op.cit., pp.100, 101, 103-4;
Tāranātha, op.cit., p.259.

12. Naudou, op.cit., pp. 191-92;
Roerich, op.cit., pp. 373, 1051.

13. Tāranātha, pp. 301-2;
Naudou, pp. 168 ff.

14. Roerich, op.cit., pp. 355, 372-373;
Naudou, op.cit., pp. 221 f.

15. Naudou, pp. 194-5.

16. ibid., pp. 188 ff;
also confirm Roerich, pp. 847, 1007, 1044.

17. Naudou, pp. 196 ff;
also cf., Roerich, pp. 69-70, 85-86.

18. Roerich, P. 758 ff.;
Naudou, pp. 198 ff.;
Sankrityayana, op.cit., p.37.

19. Naudou, pp. 168, 210, 217-18;
also cf. Tārānātha, p. 302.

20. Tārānātha, p.302;
Naudou, p. 221.

21. Naudou, pp. 227-228, 230;
also cf. Roerich, pp. 325,344.

22. Naudou, pp. 229, 230, 231.

23. ibid., p.231.

24. ibid., pp. 231-233;
also cf. Sankrityayana, p.43.

25. Naudou, pp. 233-234, 235.

26. ibid., pp. 234-236;
also cf. Roerich, p.219.

27. Naudou, p. 236.

28. ibid., p. 214.

29. ibid., pp. 251-252;
also cf. Roerich, pp. 317-318.

30. Sankrityayana, pp. 43-44;
Roerich, pp. 710, 1063 ff.;
Naudou, pp. 244 ff.

31. Naudou, p.246.

32. Roerich, p.760

33. ibid., p.35.

34. Naudou, p.252.

35. ibid., pp. 255-256.

36. ibid., pp. 256-257.

37. ibid., p.258.

38. Bose, pp.59 ff.

39. Sasaki, C.H., 2500 years of Buddhism, pp. 210 ff;
also cf. Bagchi, India and China, pp. 42-44, 148.

40. Panikkar, K.M., India and China, Bombay, 1957, p.30.

41. Roerich, pp. 68,328.

42. ibid., pp.68, 1085.

43. ibid., p. 68.

44. Naudou, pp.169.

45. Roerich, p.68.

46. ibid.,

47. ibid., p.123.

48. ibid., p.351.

49. ibid., p.209.

50. ibid., p.372.

51. ibid., p.389.

52. ibid., p.209.

53. Naudou, p.191;
also supra p.143.

54. Roerich, p.378;
Naudou, pp. 194-193.

55. cf. supra p.146 ;
Naudou, pp. 194-195.

56. ibid., p.233.

57. Roerich, pp.352-353.

58. ibid., p.123.

59. ibid., pp.248-250.

60. ibid., p.472.

61. ibid., p.250.

62. ibid.,

63. ibid., pp.69,250,328.

64. ibid., p.328.

65. ibid., p.347.

66. ibid., p.328.

67. ibid., p.341.

68. ibid., p.70.

69. cf. ibid., p.273.

70. ibid., p.396.

71. Naudou, p.218.

72. ibid., p.229.

73. ibid., p.339.

74. Roerich, p.339.

75. ibid., p.331.

76. ibid., p.328.

77. ibid., p.341.

78. Naudou, p.230.

79. Roerich, p.271.

80. Naudou, p.234.

81. Roerich, p.271.

82. ibid., pp.242,272.

83. ibid., p.343.

84. ibid., p.344.

85. ibid., p.342.

86. Naudou, p.232.

87. Roerich, p.242.

88. Naudou, p.233.

89. ibid., p.234.

90. ibid., p.221.

91. ibid., p.234.

92. Roerich, pp.366, 342-43.

93. Naudou, p.233.

94. Roerich, p. 350.

95. ibid., p.242.

96. Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R., p.66.

97. cf. al-Mas'udi, Muruju'dh- Dhahab;
al-Qazwini, Atharu'l-Bilad.

-0-

CHAPTER.. VII

Contribution to the Buddhist Literature in Central Asia and Tibet

CONTRIBUTION TO THE BUDDHIST LITERATURE

Kashmir played a vital role in the development of Buddhist literature and its propogation in various parts of Central Asia, China and Tibet. Numerous scholars and Buddhist monks elected to work in these areas and spread the message of the Buddha. These scholars not only composed original texts, but their direct contribution embrasses both, works in translations and religious practices. Much of the evidence for this, as mentioned earlier are preserved in Buddhist texts and translations preserved in these areas.

The entire Sanskrit canon has been preserved only in large collections of Chinese and Tibetan translations. These collections also contain a vast literature that was translated from various Indian sources. This literature includes commentaries and exegetical texts which are otherwise lost in their original form. The collections also include dictionaries which were compiled in order to facilitate the translations. The role of Kashmiri scholars has been immense in the building up of these collections. In the following account, an attempt has been made to high light in a systematic manner, the contributions of various

Kashmiri scholars towards the formation of the Buddhist literature.

EARLY BUDDHISM (HĪNAYĀNA) : Early Buddhist canon is traditionally divided into three pitakas, viz., vinaya, sūtra and abhidharma. Vinayapitaka is mainly a code of monastic discipline. In the Chinese translation of Buddhist canons there are five different vinayapitakas :

i) Mahāsāṅghikavinaya,
ii) Sarvāstivādavinaya,
iii) Dharmaguptakavinaya,
iv) Mahisāsakavinaya, and
v) Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya.

In this connection the sarvāstivādavinaya, also known as"vinayapitaka in ten sections", was translated by Puṇyatrāta of Kashmir. He translated it in collaboration with Kumārajīva.[1] Vimalākṣa, another Kashmiri scholar who was a famous vinaya-master and a teacher of Kumārajīva, also translated daśādhayāyavinaya.[2] Kashmir during this period, i.e., around 4th-5th century A.D., was a flourishing centre of the sarvāstivāda school and the literature of this school was mostly studied in the Buddhist monasteries of Central Asia.[3] Another Kashmiri Buddhist scholar - Buddhayaśas, translated dharmaguptavinaya, which is also known as "vinayapitaka in four sections".[4] This Kashmiri scholar had passed a considerable part of his active career in various parts of Central Asia.[5] Buddhajīva, another

vinaya-master of Kashmir, translated the mahiśāsaka-vinaya, and the prātimokṣa of mahiśāsaka.[6] Bka'gyur the Tibetan Buddhist collection, which opens with Dul-va (vinaya), is the translation of the mūlasarvāstivādavinaya.[7] A portion of this vinaya has been found in the manuscript finds at Gilgit. Kashmiri scholars, viz., Sarvajñāmitra, Dharmākara and Jinamitra took leading part in this translation.[8] It was perhaps for this significant enterprise that Jinamitra and Sarvajñāmitra received pompous title "Āryamūlasarvāstivādavinayadhara kāśmīravaibhāṣikācārya".[9] Besides, translating a comprehensive collection of vinayapiṭaka, and Kashmiri scholars did other Chinese/Tibetan translations of the texts belonging to vinaya section. Some of these are commentaries, called vibhāṣā. Saṅghabūti translated such a commentary on the sarvāstivādavinaya,[10] when he was in China. Jinamitra and Sarvajñādeva translated into Tibetan vinayasamuccaya[11]. The other vinaya texts translated into Tibetan by Jinamitra include the vinayavibhaṅgādivyākhyāna of Vinītadeva, the vinayasūtra of Guṇaprabha, the vinayasūtraṭīkā of Dharmamitra and the ekottarakarmaśataka of Guṇaprabha[12]. Another Kashmiri scholar in Tibet, named Janārdana, translated prātimokṣabhāṣya[13]. Prātimokṣa is the nucleus of vinayapiṭaka in which the rules of ordination of monks and nuns are given.

Sūtrapiṭaka (Pāli suttapiṭaka) is the next section of Buddhist tripiṭaka. It is a collection of discourses attributed to the Buddha himself. Its five sub-sections are known as nikāya in Pāli and āgama in Sanskrit. These include :

i) Dīghanikāya or Dīrghāgama,
ii) Majjhimanikāya or Madhyamāgama,
iii) Samyuttanikāya or Samyuktāgama,
iv) Aṅguttaranikāya or Ekottarāgama, and
v) Khuddakanikaya or Ksudrakāgama.

Chinese sūtrapiṭaka is the translation of the Sanskrit original, corresponding to Pāli Suttapiṭaka. The fragmentary remains of the original Sanskrit texts were found in Central Asia[14]. The Dīrghāgama was translated into Chinese by the Kashmiri monk Buddhayaśas[15]. The madhyamāgama and the ekottarāgama were translated in 420-427 A.D. by Guṇabhadra, who is reported to have gone to China from Kashmir[16]. The last section of sūtrapiṭaka, i.e., Khuddaka or ksudrakāgama is mainly a collection of heterogeneous texts, viz., the Dhammapada, Vitāna, Itivuttaka, Suttanipāta and Jātaka, etc., These are separate Chinese translations of the corresponding Sanskrit texts such as Udānavarga or Dharmapada, Jātaka, Arthavarga, etc.,[17] Sanskrit Udānavarga, compiled by Kashmiri Dharmatrāta is the famous collection of old verses of Dharmapada[18] There are three different

chinese translations of Udānavarga[19] and one translation in Tibetan[20]. Udānavargavivarna, a commentary on Udānavarga, was composed by Prajñāvarman who lived in Kashmir during the 9th century A.D.[21] The commentary was translated into Tibetan by the Kashmiri scholar Janārdana[22], who also translated the first thirty-two Jātakas of Śūra's Jātakamālā[23]. Another Kashmiri Buddhist, named Tien-si-tsai, made a chinese version of the Dharmapada which has various versions in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian[24].

A block print copy of the Kashmiri poet Kṣemendra's (11th century A.D.) Avadānakalpalatā has been discovered in Potala printing establishment at Lhasa (Tibet). It was printed during 1662-63 A.D. It contained 620 folios with a transliteration of Sanskrit text in Tibetan script and also a Tibetan translation side by side. The manuscript of this work was prsented to the Śākya pandita Kun-dgah-rgyal-msthan by Śākyaśrī paṇḍita of Kashmir in 1202 A.D. It was translated seventy years later by Sonton Lo-tsā-ba under the auspices of Phags-pa, the spiritual guide of the emperor Kublai Khan. Illustrious Sonton lo-tsā-ba translated this work under the guidance of Indian pandita Mahakavi Lakshmīkara at the monastery of Dge-hdun bshi sde in Manyul (Kirong). Then,the work, alongwith its translation was first put in block print by celebrated Shwalu lo tsā-ba Rin-chen-chos khyon bsan-po. S.C. Das and Hari Mohan vidyabhushan have

published the Tibetan - Sanskrit bilingual edition of the text in Bibliotheca Indica series (1883-1913 A.D).

In the beginning the Avadānakalpalatā had a mixed reception in Tibet on the grounds that it was written by a lay man and not by a monk. Because of their imperfect acquaintance with the sūtras and āgamas, some lamas of Tibet even charged that the work contained matters which differed from the real Jātakas of the Buddha. But in due course of time the Tibetan scholars realised the merits of this work and started appreciating it. A large number of Tibetan translators as well as scholars devoted their attention to the study of this work which contained the largest number of avadānas than any other work of this class. Each avadāna contains a distinct story of an incident in the life of the Buddha illustrating a particular moral[25].

The third section, Abhidharmapitaka, contains a scholastic exposition of the Buddhist philosophy. In Chinese, this collection is known as the collection of śāstras. They are not sūtras (the sayings of the Buddha) but are ascribed to different authors. In the Chinese collection, the principal abhidharma texts belong to the sarvāstivāda school[26]. These texts, unfortunately like the vinaya and the sūtra of this school, are lost in their original Sanskrit. The sarvāstivāda school, which flourished in Kashmir, possessed seven abhidharma

texts. Of the seven texts, the first Jñānaprasthāna-śāstra, was the principal work of the sarvāstivāda abhidharmapitaka which was translated by the Kashmiri monk Gautama Saṅghadeva, in collaboration with Chu-fo-nien in China (395 A.D.)[27]. The Abhidharma - mahāvibhāṣāśāstra which, according to the tradition was compiled during the fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir, was translated into Chinese between 656-659 A.D. by Yuan-chwang[28] who was the founder of Kin she (-Kośa) school in China. The name of this school is derived from Abhidharmakośa, the work of Vasubandhu containing the exposition of the philosophy of the sarvāstivāda school. It is based on seven metaphysical works of this school[29]. Abhidharmakośa had a wide circulation in Tibet as well. It was translated with numerous commentaries during the early period of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet[30]. Kashmiri scholar Jinamitra translated both Abhidharmakośakārikā and Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu. Another Kashmiri Buddhist Kanakavarman translated Lakṣaṇānusāriṇī — the commentary of the Abhidharmakośa[31]. There are other śāstra texts translated by Kashmiri scholars into Chinese and Tibetan. Gautamsaṅghadeva translated Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra[32] and Dharmayaśas translated Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra[33] into Chinese. Buddhavarman is reported to have translated Mahāvibhāsaśāstra in China[34]. Two Kashmiri scholars Jinamitra and Dānaśīla

with other collaborators translated prajñāptiśāstra in Tibet[35]. Yuan-chwang, in his travel account, mentions some śāstra texts which were written by Kashmiri vaibhāṣikas. These texts include Tsà-abhidharma lun written by Dharmatrāta[36]; vibhāṣāprakaraṇapāda śāstra and abhidharmāvatāra śāstra or abhidharmapraveśa śāstra, both written by Skandhila[37]. Pūrṇa- another Kashmiri, according to Yuan-chwang, composed a commentary on vibhāsa śāstra[38]. Besides sarvāstivāda school, according to the same authority, other schools also were prevailing side by side in Kashmir. Tattvasaṁgraha, a mahāsāṅghika work was composed by a Kashmiri scholar Bodhila in a mahāsāṅghika monastery of Kashmir[39].

Satyasiddhi śāstra or Tattvasiddhi śāstra is an important work in the Chinese śāstra collection. It was composed by Harivarman, a famous sarvāstivāda teacher of Kashmir in 253 A.D. He composed this work keeping in view all the divisions of Buddhist church that had arisen till his time. The original work is now lost but it is preserved in Chinese translation of Kumārajīva who introduced Satyasiddhi school based on this śāstra in China. This work was held in high esteem in China[40].

MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM : Mahāyāna Buddhism was gaining ground in India from the Kushāṇa period. It was a predominant form of Buddhism all over India till 7th century A.D.[41] and contained a large section of its

literature in the form of numerous mahāyāna sūtras and philosophical works in Sanskrit. It was with its exposition beyond the frontiers of India that this literature was translated into the languages of those countries to which it spread. In this connection, Kashmiri scholars were playing a predominant role from the very beginning. Buddhist meditation (dhyāna) has a long tradition in Kashmir[42]. The first patriarch of the Dhyāna Buddhist school in Kashmir was Puṇyamitra who was later succeeded by his disciple Puṇyatāra whose two disciples, Dharmatrāta (before 3rd century A.D.)[43] and Buddhasena were jointly respected as third patriarchs. The method of dhyāna expounded by Dharmatrāta was introduced in China by Buddhabhadra of central India who studied in Kashmir and visited China in the beginning of 5th century A.D. Dhyāna in China is known as Ch'an. Buddhabhadra translated Ch'an-ching, work of Dharmatrāta whose method of dhyāna occupied an important place amongst the canons of meditation. Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra, the famous mahāyāna śāstra, which is the fundamental text of the Yogācāra doctrine, was translated in China by a Kashmiri scholar named Cha-Hou-cheng in collaboration with Dharmarakṣa, in 284 A.D. It was this Kashmiri scholar who had brought the text to China[44]. Dharmayaśas a Kashmiri scholar translated strīvivarta-vyākarana-sūtra between 405-414 A.D.[45] and Buddhayaśas

the Kashmiri monk translated ākāśagarbha-bodhisattva-sūtra between 410-417 A.D.[46] During the same century another Kashmiri monk Dharmamitra translated Bodhi-sattva-dhārni[47] and Guṇavarman explained saddharma-puṇḍarīka and daśabhūmisūtra in china. Guṇavarman also translated Bodhisattva-caryānirdeśa which formed a chapter of the Yogācārabhūmiśāstra[48]. Between 693-706 A.D. another Kashmiri monk Ratnacinta, translated two mahāyāna-sūtras, i.e., Ekākṣharadhārṇī and "Sūtra on counting the good qualities of a rosary"[49]. During the last quarter of the 10th century Kashmiri Tien-si tsai translated two more mahāyāna sūtras, viz., daśanāma sūtra and upamitāyus sūtra[50]. All this clearly indicates that it was not only the sarvāstivāda Buddhism which was propounded and implemented by Kashmiri scholars but their contributions to mahāyāna form of Buddhism were also manifold. In the following account we will look into the activities of Kashmiri scholars as also authors of various philosophical works which are preserved in Tibetan translations.

In Tibet, the great Kashmiri scholar Jinamitra, who lived during the 9th century A.D. collaborated with other scholars in translating the six mahāyāna sūtras of prajñāpāramita class[51]. He also translated some philosophical works among which four were of the mādhyamika system and eight of the vijñānavāda system[52]. Dānaśīla, another Kashmiri scholar also collaborated

with Jinamitra in making some of these translations[53]. Subhūtiśrīśānti, a great master of Kashmir during the 11th century A.D. translated many sūtras and śāstras of the prajñāpāramita class. The most important translation is the commentary of astasāhasrikā entitled abhisamayālaṅkārāloka and the translation of the abhisamayālaṅkāraṭīkā[54]. During the same century, another Kashmiri scholar mahājana wrote prajñāpāramitā-hṛdayārthaparijñāna being a commentary on the prajñā-pāramitahṛdaya sūtra and also translated into Tibetan śrāmaneraśikṣāpadasūtra, a vinaya text of mahāyānists[55]. Jñānaśrībhadra, also a Kashmiri scholar of the 11th century, wrote two commentaries. First on Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra entitled Āryalaṅkāvatāravrtti and second on Hṛdayasūtra entitled Bhagavatiprjñāpāramitahṛdayavyākhyā. He also wrote the Āryaprajñāpāramitanayaśatapañcāśata-kaṭīkā besides translating the latter work[56]. Another Kashmiri of the same epoch named Parahitabhadra composed two philosophical commentaries — the śūnyatāsaptativivṛtti and the sūtrālaṅkārādiślokadvayavyākhyāna. The latter was a commentary on the two initial verses of the mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra[57]. Other Kashmiri scholars like Mahāsumati, Tilakalaśa and Kanakavarman, who also lived during the 11th century A.D., were specially interested in prajñāpāramita class and mādhyamika system. Mahāsumati, in Kashmir, in collaboration with a Tibetan

translator, translated the Prasannapāda a commentary of the Mūlamādhyamakakārikā of Nāgārjuna. He also corrected the translation of Nāgārjuna's work[58]. Tilakakalaśa translated two texts of Prajñāpāramita class[59]. Kanakavarman translated two works of Mādhyamika system — Prasannapāda and Mādhyamakāvatāra[60]. During the 12th century A.D. Śūkaśajana translated Bodhisattvayogācāryacatuḥśatakakārikā of Āryadeva and its tīkā[61]. Kumāraprajñā translated Akutobhayaśataka, a Mahāyāna work and its tīkā[62].

Buddhist Logic :- Logic was manifested in Buddhism as a consequence of the writings of Dignāga during the 5th century and of Dharmakīrti during the 7th century. Kashmiri scholars also interested themselves in it and their contribution to Buddhist logic is considerable. Dharmottarācārya, a Kashmiri Buddhist logician who lived during the 8th century, wrote two commentaries on the two works of Dharmakīrti besides composing four original works on logic[63]. Śaṅkarānanda originally a Kashmiri Brāhmaṇa, who was later considered a second Dharmakīrti, wrote on Buddhist logic[64]. His Apohasiddhi was translated into Tibetan by Manoratha, another Kashmiri logician during the 11th century[65]. Bhavyarāja, during the same century received the pompous title of 'śrīmat Kāśmīranyāyacūḍāmaṇi Bhavyarāja' in Tibet, for translating Prasannavṛttikālaṅkāra. He also translated two works of Dharmottara and Pratibandhasiddhi of Śaṅkarānanda[66]. Kumāraśrī and Śūnyaśrī were the

two Kashmiris under whose control the translation of Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra was revised[67]. Another Kashairi logician, Arcata wrote a commentary on Dharmakīrti's work and he also wrote the Tarkaṭīkā[68]. Jinamitra (9th century) translated the Nyāyabindhuṭīkā[69]. Ratnavajra (11th century) composed Yuktiprayoga[70]. Subhūtiśāntiśānti (11th century) translated four works on ligic including the Yuktiprayoga[71]. Jñānaśrī (11 the century) wrote a commentary on Dharmakīrti's famous treatise Pramāṇaviniścaya and wrote the Kāryakāraṇabhāvasiddhi. He also translated Vādanyāyaprakaraṇa[72]. Parahita (11th century) translated Sambandhaparīkṣānusāra[73] and Kanakavarman (11th century) translated Pramāṇasamuccaya of Dignāga[74]. Śākyaśrī (11th to 12th century) corrected the translation of Pramāṇavārtikakārikā of Dharmakīrti[75]. Sarvajñāśrī (13th century) translated Nyāyapraveśanāma pramāṇaprakaraṇa[76].

TĀNTRISM OR ESOTERIC BUDDHISM : Yogācāra school of the Mahāyāna Buddhism gave importance to vijñāna (consciousness), the cultivation of which led, gradually to several esoteric developments in Buddhism. Mantras, Dhāraṇis, etc., which began to assume increasing importance for a yogī were believed to possess great magical powers. These mantras and dhāraṇis had their counterparts in the parittas in Pāli literature, which were thought to protect the reciters against all evils[77]. This aspect of Mahāyāna Buddhism included various forms of mysticism

known as Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna, Sahajayāna, etc.,. In this form, a symbolic language was used which only the initiates could understand and to the common people the words carried an altogether different meaning. This is the reason that considerable misunderatanding was created about the followers of the tāntric school and their practices. This form introduced the cult of many gods and goddesses by whose favour the devotees were expected to attain siddhi (perfection). Buddhist tāntric literature as represented by the works of Kashmiri scholars is preserved in Tibetan translations. Kashmiri Ravigupta, belonging to the 8th century A.D., was proficient in magic spells and he had attained the siddhi of Tārā — the female aspect of Bodhisattva. According to a tradition she bestowed on him a stotra with the help of which one could perform any kind of magic rite. This ritual earned wide currency in Tibet. Seven works of Ravigupta are all dedicated to Tārā[78]. Sarvajñāmitra a Kashmiri monk was Ravigupta's student. He was devout worshipper of Tārā. He composed four works in praise of Tārā amongst which Sragdharāstotra is a well known hymn in thirty-seven verses. There are three Tibetan translations of this stotra, also a commentary on it in Tibetan is available[79]. Gangādhara, a Kashmiri acholar and teacher of the another Kashmiri scholar Ratnavajra (11th

century), wrote Vajravidāraṇīsādhanā[80]. Another Kashmiri named Somaśrī, who was the teacher of Parahitabhadra of Kashmir (11th century), wrote four works dealing with Nāmasaṅgītiyogatantra[81]. Sajjana of Kashmir was considered an originator of the Anuttarayogatantra in Kashmir which represented the doctrine of Maitreya. Sajjana translated Uttaratantra-śāstra and its commentary[82]. Śraddhākaravarman wrote some texts dealing with Mantrayāna[83]. The Kashmiri nun Lakṣmī expounded the 'detailed exposition' of the cycle of Mahākāruṇika (Avalokiteśvara). There exist five works dedicated to Avalokiteśvara and composed by Lakṣmī[84]. Subhūtiśrīśānti translated Śrīcakrasaṃvāradvajavīrasādhanā of Ratnavajra belonging to Cakrasaṃvāra cycle and Lakṣābhidhāneddhṛtalaghutantrapiṇḍārthavivaraṇa dealing with Kālacakra cycle. He also translated Sadaṅgayoga and Sahajaratisaṃyoga tantras[85]. Somanatha (11th century) obtained scholarship on Kālacakra and preached this system in Tibet. He translated many important texts dealing with Kālacakra[86]. Mahājana translated seven tantric texts majority of which deal with Nāmasaṅgītiyogatantra[87]. Jñānaśrī (11th century) is reported to have composed some minor tāntric texts[88]. Parahitabhadra translated two works of Saṃbhāra series[89]. Kanakavarman translated Śrīsarvadurgatipariśodhanapretahomaviddhi and Pratiṣṭhāvidhisaṃkṣepa of Śraddhākaravarman[90]. Śākyaśri (12th - 13th century) also translated and composed some tāntric works dealing with

the cycle of the Kālacakra, the Tārā and cycle of Avalokiteśvara, Nāmasaṃgīti, Mañjuśrī, Jāmbhāla, etc.,[91] Sugataśrī translated Svapnakārsapāyikā and Āryamañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgītivrtti aartabindupratyāleksnāaa[92]. Vimalaśrībhadra (14th century) was the author of four tāntric texts which he translated into Tibetan. He also translated Suviśādasaāputa, an important commentary on the Hevajra-tantra[93]. Dharmadhara (14th century) also translated some tantric works[94]. Lastly, Sumanaśrī, who expounded the cycle of Padmajāla to great Tibetan historian Bu-ston, also translated some tāntric works[95].

DICTIONARIES :- Kashmiri scholars Jinamitra and Dānaśīla, during the 8th century A.D. collaborated with other scholars in compiling an etymological dictionary in Tibetan at the request of King Khri-lde sron-bcan Ral pa-can (circa 814 A.D.)[96].

The famous Sanskrit - Chinese Dictionary Chung-yu T'ien-chu Tzu-yuan was a compilation produced by the Imperial Institute for Translation of Buddha-dharma in Sung China. This dictionary was jointly compiled by Dharmapāla, a monk of Kashmir and Wei-ching, who was a nephew of Li-yu (937 - 978 A.D.), the dispossessed king of southern Ta'ng kingdom. The work was done in 1035 A.D. The emperor named the work and wrote a preface to it[97].

Thus, the above review shows that Kashmir played a prominent role in the transmission of Buddhist learning through her learned scholars in Kashmir as well as abroad. Kashmir was the chief centre of Buddhist learning from about the beginning of the Christian era. Again, it was through Kashmir that India was connected with Central Asia, China and Tibet. Kashmiri scholars contributed to the greatness and importance of the place in the history of Buddhist propaganda uptill the last centuries of its decline. Their work and virtues were respected by the Buddhists of other countries. Many kashmiri scholars were invited to their countries by the Chinese and Tibetan kings and scholars. What is most important is that all these details come to us from the documents preserved in these countries.

GILGIT BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS[98]: Uncovering of Buddhist antiquities in the Gilgit region was an epoch making archaeological discovery in Kashmir. The main characteristic of the literature preserved in the Gilgit collection is that many Buddhist texts which were formerly known through their translations into Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu and several extinct Central Asian languages, are now, for the first time available in their original Sanskrit form. The most important and the most expensive Manuscript in this collection is the Mūlasarvāstivāda-

vinaya vastu consisting of 525 folios, out of which 395 are available. The scripture contains seventeen vastus, only ten vastus are completely available. The Sanskrit text can be compared with its Chinese and Tibetan translations. The text also corresponds to volume I of the Vinayapitaka in Pāli. The special feature of this scripture is that it incorporates many avadānas and jātakas and the Sthavira gāthā, which in Pāli appear as separate texts in the form of thera and therī gāthā and apādāna[99].

Another important manuscript is the Prātimokṣasūtra which is available in four different manuscripts. The sūtra agrees quite closely with its Pāli version (Pātimokkha-sutta). One manuscript contains the Karmavacana (Pāli Kammavaca) which deals with the procedure of the ordination ceremony.[100]

The Sarvāstivāda school is represented by two important texts viz., the Dharmaskandha (in nineteen leaves) and the Lokaprajñāpti (in six leaves). Some stray fragments of the prakaraṇa of the Abhidharma have only recently been identified.

There are some other Hīnayāna sūtras preserved in the collection, such as Ajitasena-vyākaraṇa. The twenty-seven leaves of the Ekottarāgama belong to the Mūla-sarvāstivāda version of this sūtra text.

Avadāna texts of the Hīnayāna also have been traced

and worked upon. Some of them are : Viśvāntarāvadāna, Dharmarucivadāna, Mandhatāvadāna, Jyotiṣkāvadāna, Candraprabhāvadāna, Sumāgadhāvadāna (three manuscripts) and Sucandrāvadāna etc.

In Mahāyānic literature the most important are the Prajñāpāramita texts containing Śatādaśasāhasrikā (extent in Chinese and Tibetan) and Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā ('large' and 'subsequent' manuscripts), and Vajracchedikā. The main feature of these texts is that they establish the highest truth (Tathatā or Śūnyatā) which is inconceivable and indescribable. It can be realised by the perfect, like Buddhas within their own selves.

Another important text which is very popular among the Mahāyānists is the Saddharma - puṇḍarīka - sūtra. It is available in four manuscripts. This sūtra displays that the Hīnayānists make only some spiritual progress but it is Mahāyāna, the 'Lotus of true Dharma' through which one becomes Buddha.

One valuable manuscript contains the Samādhirāja-sūtra. It is a sūtra in both prose and verse. The prose portion mostly reproduces the contents of the verses. Samādhirāja text displays the realisation of the Truth which is attributeless. With regard to these texts the Gilgit collection represents an earlier and thus historically important material for the study of the history of Mahāyāna literature.

From the late Mahāyānic literature, the Saṅghāta-sūtra is available in eight manuscripts. This sūtra was known from its Chinese, Khotanese and Tibetan translations. Śaka version of this sūtra was discovered in Central Asia. Saṅghāta is the name of a hell. In this hell the punishments inflicted upon the sinners are extremely severe. The text opens with the statement that by listening to this sūtra one can not only get rid of the worst hellish sins but can also attain Buddhahood. Describing hellish sufferings, it refers particularly to the non-Buddhists, who suffered in hells and were ultimately rescued by the Buddha with the help of this sūtra[101].

With similar thesis, the Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra is available in four manuscripts. These manuscripts represent two different recentians of the text.

The Ratnaketuparivarta or the Mahāsannipātaratnaketu-sūtra is available in a fragmentary manuscript of composite nature. The text opens with the conversion of Śāriputra giving vivid account of Māra's attempt to misguide Śāriputra[102].

The Kāraṇḍavyūha, a text differing from its name-sake of the Nepalese tradition, is identified in two manuscripts (one folio only of one manuscript is preserved, the other manuscript of eighty-two folios is extant in fifty leaves). This text is devoted mainly to the glorification of Avalokiteśvara and details how he helps those who are in

distress[103].

There are some manuscripts available from Vyākaraṇa class also, such as Mahādevīvyākaraṇa, Maitreyavyākaraṇa, etc.,. In these, Buddha foretells the events of these who are likely to become Buddhas (enlightened)[104].

To the class of Dhāraṇīs belong a number of manuscripts, viz., Mahāmayūrī (one manuscript containing the name of the king Navasurendrādityanandin) ; Mahāpratisāra (different manuscripts, some containing names of individuals); Hiraṇyavatidhāraṇī (one folio only), etc.,. The texts of this class give some mantras, through the repeated utterence of which one is protected from all worldly troubles and is led to higher noble existence.

Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā of Nāgārjuna has been recently identified in the collection. It points to the popularity of such a text in the Gilgit area.

The collection of Gilgit manuscript was not discovered in its entirety, because most of the manuscripts and texts are incomplete. But this collection still enjoys great significance. It could give an idea of the Buddhism practiced in the Gilgit region in the 6th and 7th centuries A .D. In philosophy, i.e . Abhidharma the text of the Sarvāstivāda school seems to have been in practice. In vinaya literature the text of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school must have been popular. Finds of important Mahāyāna texts viz., Prajñāpāramitā and Saddharmapuṇḍarīka and other minor Mahāyāna texts are sure instances of the popularity of

these texts in the region. On the ritualistic aspect are found various tāntric tracts and dhārnīs and two of the Pañcaraksa[105] collection copied.

It seems that the region had the close connection with Khotan. A large number of Buddhist texts in their Khotanese translations have been identified with their original Sanskrit in this collection. In the deya-dharma formulas of some manuscripts are recorded the names of persons of Khotanese origin and also of persons of other language groupe. For instance, we get the following sequence of four kings of the local Patola Śāhī dynasty:

i. Vajrādityanandin,

ii. Vikramādityanandin,

iii. Surendravikramādityanandin, and

iv. Navasurendrādityanandin.

The texts of the collection also possess important philelogical features through which is observed the gradual development of certain texts. These manuscripts are written in changing forms of the post-gupta brāhmī, now called the Gilgit brāhmī. A paleographic investigation in proto-śāradā script can yield important results.

- 0 -

1. Bose , P.N. , op.cit. , p.70;
   supra. p.125.

2. Bose , p.69;
   supra.,p.129.

3. Bagchi, India and China, p.160.

4. Bose, p.71;
   Bagchi, p.160.

5. supra., p.128.

6. Bose, p.73.

7. Bagchi op.cit., p.161.

8. Naudou, Jean, Buddhists of Kashmir, p.101.

9. ibid. , p.100.

10. Bagchi, op.cit., p.50;
    supra., p.124.

11. Naudou, p.103.

12. ibid.;
    also cf. supra., p.8.

13. Naudou, p.194;
    supra., p.141.

14. Bagchi, op.cit., p.163.

15. Bose, p.71;
    supra., p.128.

16. Bagachi,op.cit., p.164.

17. ibid., p.165.

18. ibid.

19. ibid.

20. Rockhill, W.W., The Life of Buddha, p.xi.

21. ibid.,p.xii;
    Naudou, p.195.

22. Naudou, p.195.

23. ibid.

24. Bose, p.137.

25. Vaidya, P.L., Kṣemendra's Avadānakalpalatā, vol.I, Introduction;
Dasa, S.C., Avadāna kalpalatā by Kṣemendra, Bibliotheca Indica series, prefatory note.

26. Bagchi, op.cit., p.166.

27. ibid;
also Banarjee, A.C., The Jñānaprasthānasūtra, Maha Bodhi, vol. 63, no.7, 1955, p.295.

28. Bagchi, p.167.

29. ibid., p.138.

30. Roerich, p.346.

31. Naudou, p.234;
supra., p.152.

32. Bose, p.54;
Zürcher, Buddhist Conquest of China, p.246.

33. Bose, p.71;
supra., p.126.

34. Bagchi, p.259.

35. Naudou, p.103;
supra., pp.133, 134.

36. Watters, vol.I, p.214.

37. ibid., p.280.

38. ibid., p.282.

39. ibid.

40. Aiyaswami, M., Buddhist Studies in India, p.91;
Bagchi, op.cit., p.168.

41. Bagchi, p.124.

42. Jan Yun Hua, Kashmir's Contribution to the Expansion of Buddhism in the Far East, IHQ, vol.xxxvii, p.103.

43. Rockhill, p.xi.

44. Jan Yun Hua, p.103;
Zürcher, p.223.

45. Bose, p.71;
supra., p.128.

46. Bose, p.71;
supra., p.128.

47. Bose, p.73;
supra., p.130.

48. Bose, pp.80-81.

49. ibid., p.116.

50. ibid., p.137.

51. Naudou, p.101;
supra., p.130.
132.

52. Naudou, pp.103-4;
supra., p.133.

53. Naudou, pp.103-4;
supra., p.134.

54. Naudou, p.196;
supra., p.142.

55. Naudou, p.217;
supra., p.146.

56. Naudou, p.224;
supra., p.139.

57. Naudou, pp.227-228;
supra., p.149.

58. Naudou, p.230.

59. Naudou, p.233;
supra., p.151.

60. Naudou, p.233;
supra., p.152.

61. Naudou, p.221;
supra., p.148.

62. Naudou, p.236;
supra., p.154.

63. Naudou, pp.68-70;
Vidyabhusana, S.C., A History of Indian Logic, Delhi, 1971, pp.329 ff.

64. Naudou, p.230.

65. ibid., p.231.

66. ibid., pp.229-231.

67. ibid., p.231.

68. ibid., p.127.

69. ibid., p.105.

70. ibid., p.170.

71. ibid., p.97.

72. ibid., p.221.

73. ibid., p.227;
supra., p.148.

74. Naudou, p.234;
supra., p.152.

75. Naudou, p.248.

76. ibid., p.252.

77. Winternitz, HIL, vol. II, pp.80,380.

78. Roerich, pp.1050-51;
Naudou, pp.71,73.

79. Kalhana, ch.iv,v.210;
Naudou, pp.73,74,76;
Vidyabhusana, Bauddha Stotra Sangraha, vol. I, Bibliotheca Indica series, 1908.

80. Naudou, pp.169,226.

81. ibid., pp.217,227.

82. Naudou, pp.188,210,217,218,220;
Roerich, pp.347-348.

83. supra., pp. 135-136.

84. supra., pp.141-142.

85. supra., p.143.

86. supra., pp.144-146.

87. supra., pp.146-147.

88. Naudou, p.224.

89. ibid., p.228;
supra., p.149.

90. Naudou, pp.233, 234;
supra., p.152.

91. Naudou, pp.247-248;
supra., pp.156-159.

92. Naudou, pp.251-252;
supra., pp.154-155.

93. Naudou, pp.255-256;
supra., p.159.

94. Naudou, pp.256-257;
supra., p.160.

95. Naudou, p.258;
supra., p.160.

96. Naudou, p.105.

97. Jan Yun Hua, Studies in Asian History and Culture, ed. by Buddha Prakash, Maerut, 1970, pp.77,88.

98. cf. Kaul, A., Buddhist Savants of Kashmir, Delhi, 1987, pp.84-85.

99. cf. Dutt, N., Gilgit Manuscripts, Kashmir, July, 1956, p.172

100. ibid.

101. ibid., p.173.

102. ibid.

103. ibid.

104. ibid.

105. "Five Protecting Spells" are :-

x i) Mahā-Pratisāra, for protection against sin, disease and other evils,

ii) Mahā-sahasrapramardinī, against evil spirits,

iii) Mahā-mayūrī, against snake-poison,

iv) Mahā-sitavati, against hostile planets, wild animals and poisonous insects, and

v) Mahā(raksa) mantrānusāriṇī, against diseases; cf. Winternitz, HIL, vol, II, p.385.

——— o ———

C H A P T E R .. VIII

Contribution to Buddhist Art and Architecture in Central Asia and Tibet

BUDDHIST ART AND ARCHITECTURE

As in other spheres of Buddhist lore, viz., the philosophy and literature, in the transmission of Buddhist artistic and architectural traditions to Central Asian territories, Kashmir played the conspicuous role. In Kashmir the foundations of Buddhist art and architecture were laid in the early Buddhist settlements during the first centuries of the Christian era. The excavated sites of this period at Uskur near Baramulla and Harwan near Srinagar represent the early phase of the Buddhist art and architecture of Kashmir betraying the influences of several Central Asian civilizations, viz., Parthian, Greek, Turkish, etc. as well.[1] The next land-mark is formed by the art remains of Parihasapura with Buddhist attribution. The following discussion purports to trace in brief Kashmir's role in the development of the Buddhist art and architecture in Central Asia.

ARCHITECTURE:- To get an idea of the origin of the building art of Buddhist Kashmir the excavated cites at Uskur and Harwan, although bare foundations, are of great significance. These are the foundations of the

Buddhist stūpas, caityas, and vihāras. The foundations of the stūpas at both the sites are located at the centre of a large surrounding courtyard—— the arrangement similar to the stūpa courts of Gandhára. The foundation of the caitya at Harwan has its similarities in plan and dimentions with a caitya unearthed at the Indo-Greek City of Sirkap in Taxila.[2]

The plan and general arrangement of the early buildings of Kashmir were the manner of their construction from a mixture of mud and pebbles. The procees was gradually improved by the insertion of irregular blocks of stone at intervals. With the passage of time the method was further improved by making constructions by large unsrimmed stones and the spaces left between were filled up by smaller stones. Such rough construction needed a surface treatment. For this, the use was made of terracotta tiles or panels. It was a great development in the architecture of Kashmir. These tiles were used everywhere, to cover the walls and also the pavement of the courtyards. The uniqueness of the tiles is that they are moulded with a design in basrelief. The designs are significant in the manner of their representing a variety of alien civilizations, reference to which has been made above. It points to the impact of diverse cultures that met at this place in the past. The Harwan

excavations have also yielded a few terracotta plaques.[3] These plaques bear in relief miniature stūpas.[4] In the present context these reliefs are of great significance for they give an idea of the structure of stūpas that were built in Kashmir in the early centuries of the Christian era. The stūpa consisted of three component parts, viz., the base, the drum and the umbrella. The base was composed of three tiers. It was a square structure with stairs in the middle of four sides (mandala shape) to reach to the drum of the stūpa which enshrined the relic. It appears that the drum was ornamental as indicated by the terracotta plaques. Above the drum was an umbrella. The umbrella[5] had thirteen tiers arranged in a diminishing size and placed on wooden poles. The thirteen tiers represent the thirteen heavens and it is said that on the thirteenth tier the Avalokiteśvara resides.

On the top of the stūpa there were also solar and lunar signs and two ribbons which indicates the Parthian influence. The tradition of coloured ribbons on the top of monasteries is invariably found in Ladakh these days. Intersting point to note among earlier stūpas of Kashmir, is the presence of lion capital as indicated by the terracotta plaques from Harwan. It seems that the stūpa encircled by wall was approachable on four sides. On each side was raised a lion capital. The pattern was

the same as seen at Sañchī. According to H.Goetz the Harwan excavations represent the local variety of the Indo-Parthian style and that of Uskur represent earlier Gandhara style.[6]

The Pandrethen(purānādhiṣṭhāna)excavation has revealed mounds of two Buddhist stūpas and the courtyard of a monastery.[7]

The glourious period of Kashmiri architecture coincided with the rule of the great Kārkota ruler Lalitādityamuktapīḍa during the 8th century A.D. His empire covered a large part of India and also Eastern Turkistan.[8] This powerful king dedicated a large Buddhist establishement at Parihāsapura, fourteen miles north-west of Srinagar. The excavation at the cite has revealed the ruins of a stūpa, a Vihāra and a caitya-hall. The building art of this site is remarkably different from the earlier building art of Kashmir. These remains depitct a decisive leap forward in the materialisation of its arhitectural ideals. The main feature of these buildings is that they are constructed of immense stones which are smoothly dressed. Their joints are exact and perfect. The stones were apparently joined together by gypsum mortar and iron dowels. The largest stone measured fourteen by twelve feet and formed the floor of the caitya.[9] It points to the productions of experienced mind and hand and also the flourishing State of stone

architecture of Kashmir.

The _atēpa_ at Parihasapura attributed to Cankuna—— a Tokharian minister of Lalitāditya, occupied a square of 128 feet side[10] with projecting stairways at the quarters making a cross-shaped design. The _stūpa_ originally had two platforms which provided passages for circumambulation on two levels. The influence of this architecture in its plan and elevation is also represented by the Brāhmanic monnumental buildings of Kashmir, viz., Martand, Avantipur etc. etc.

Parihāsapura monastery is the only surviving example of Buddhist monasteries of Kashmir. It was a quandrangle of twenty-six cells enclosing a square courtyard. There was a broad varandah infront of the cells. In the middle of one side i.e,, to the east,was the flight of steps. The central cell on this side served as a vestibule. On the western side was also a flight of steps leading down to the courtyard. On a plinth projected into the court-yard were built three cells which were probably the private apartments of the abbot of the monastery. Nearby in a corner is a large stone trough. It may have served as a water reservior. There was also a proper drainage system to carry off the surplus water from the courtyard[11].

The examples of these forms of Buddhist architecture can be found in the monasteries and _stūpas_ of Tibet. Credit goes to the great Tibetan scholar Rin chen bzan pa

(11th century A.D.) who was mainly responsible for the foundation of most of the monasteries and stūpas in western Tibet, in collaboration with Kashmiri artists. According to The Blue Annals Ratnavajra(11th century A.D.), a Kashmiri scholar, besides his literary activities also supervised five hundred workers and artisans including sculptors and goldsmiths in rebuilding the circular terrace of Bsam-yas (Central Tibet) which was burnt in 986 A.D.[12]

The large choten (stūpa) at Samde in Tsang region[13] and the doorway of Sumtsek[14] (Alchi) are magnificent examples of Kashmiri architecture. The figure of Avalokiteśvara in Alchi(Ladakh) also gives a glimpse of Kashmiri Buddhist architecture.The lower garment of the figure is painted with pictorial art. It depicts various scenes including multi-storyed wooden palaces, stūpas, etc. According to Snellgrove they rpresent Buddhist sites in Kashmir.[15] Again, Kalhaṇa makes mention of multi-storyed buildings of Kashmir during the 11th century A.D. The existence of wooden architecture in Kashmir during this period is confirmed by the inscriptian in śāradā script found at Ārigom (1197 A.D.) in Kashmir.[16] It records the construction of a brick vihāra at the place, where there was previously a vihāra constructed of wood and which was set to fire by certain king named Simha.

The above discussion points to the geographical

location of Kashmir at a crossroad of various civilizations from all sides. The great Buddhist movement which spread farther to Central Asian territories started from Kashmir. In the field of architecture Kashmiri artists definitely received help from outside as far as the technique was concerned. But it was their high idealogy which characterises the uniqueness of their work. Again, in the field of architecture local material has played a big part. In the above discussion it has been seen that the material used for building purposes was stone (Parihāsapura), wood (Ārigom, Alchi) and brick(Ārigom). There is no brick building of the Buddhist period in Kashmir that has survived. These buildings were probably demolished and the material was used for the construction of other buildings. However, the evidence of the construction of brick vihāras is recorded on Ārigom inscription. In Tibet and particularly in Ladakh there are a number of examples of wood work accomplished by Kashmiri artists. But there is only the Ārigom inscription left to confirm the existence of wooden vihāras in Kashmir. For the stone work use was made of beautiful grey limestone. It was easy to carve and it presented a very smooth surface when properly dressed. The main charactristic of Buddhist architecture of Kashmir was the use of better material and the modes of decoration. The examples are still present in the monasteries and stūpas of Ladakh and Tibet.

ART: The geographical location and religious calamities have left almost nothing in Kashmir to represent its rich art style. However, outside Kashmir, in the monasteries of Central Asia and Tibet, a large number of examples have been traced which bear Kashmiri influences. Again, the existence of Kashmiri art style is proved by literary evidences from Kashmir and Tibet.

The Nīlamatapurāṇa (6th-7th century A.D.) dealing with the sacred places, rituals and ceremonials of Kashmir, refers to decoration of the walls of the caityas with paintings on the occasion of Buddha's birthday.[17] In his introduction to Kṣemendra's Avadānakalpalatā (11th century A.D.) Somadeva makes mention of the monasteries adorned with pleasing picutures which had perished with the passage of time.[18] There are a number of references to be found in Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī (12th century A.D.) of the consecration of the Buddhist images by the kings, queens or the ministers particularly during the 7th-8th century A.D. and the 11th century A.D. The Tibetan historian Tārānātha (16th century A.D.) refers to a Kashmiri art style of painting and sculpture established by Hasarāja during the 8th-9th century A.D.[19]

The Kashmiri art of painting is represented by the paintings of the wooden covers of the Gilgit manuscripts. Among the two covers published by P.Banerjee[20], the painting of manuscript no.2 represents the Kashmiri

art style. On these paintings the Gandhāra influence is noticed by the broad muscular treatment of chest and body. Same features are also found on certain paintings at Bamiyan and western Tibet.

The most significant specimens of Kashmiri art are preserved in western Tibet. According to Tibetan sources it was at the instance of the great Tibetan scholar Rin-chen bzan pe (958-1055 A.D.) that the foundations of most of the Tibetan monasteries were laid. The king Ye-śes-od sent him to Kashmir to receive initiation in Buddhist lore. On his return journey Rin-chen bzan pa took with him a group of thirty-two skilled artists. The group comprised skilled painters and sculptors. They helped Rin-chen bzan pa in laying the foundation of monasteries and decorating them with their excellent workmanship[21]. Incidentally the name of one of these Kashmiri artists is found as Bhiṭaka. Rin chen bzan pa while in Kashmir got made by Bhiṭaka the bronze statue of Avalokiteśvara which he dedicated to the memory of his father[22]. A large number of Kashmiri bronzes with Buddhist themes have survived in Tibet. Similar bronzes have also been discovered in the Kirghiz area of Soveit Russia[23].

Some sculptures found at the site of Adzhi-tepe in western Turkistan bear a striking resemblance to

ths sculptures of Akhnur and Uskur in Kashmir[24]. Buddhist images found at Pandrethan in Kashmir have their relation with the sculptures of Hadda(Fondukistan)[25]. These images can also be compared in their features to ths sculptures from the cave No.xxi at Tien Lung Schan(Tang period 678-906 A.D.). It is important to note here that the seated Buddha image carved on a high rock at Shakorai in Swat valley(7th-8th century A.D.)has its affinities with the 7th-8th century A.D.Tang sculptures in Central Asia. Also, the Buddhist images found at Soura in Kashmir have close affinity with the sculptures found at Ming-ie sharchuk (6th century A.D.)in Chinese Turkestan[26].

The Buddhist art of Kashmir is further represented by the art of Alchi(Ladakh). The Tibetan sources state that the Kashmiri monks while on their way to Tibet, first settled at Sanid in Zanskar. Here,they built Kanika monastery. Some paint,which remained unutilized was utilised in other two monasteries at Sumda(Zanskar) and Alchi. Here, some paint was saved again which was utilised in the Manggy monastery[27]. At Alchi, Du-khang (assembly hall) and Sumtsek(three storyed temple) are the earliest buildings. The uniqueness of Sumtsek is represented by its wooden doorway supported by beautifully carved wooden pillars. These pillars bear the traces of Kashmiri workmanship[28]. An old wooden image, four armed and holding a vessel in her only surviving hand was found by the state department of Archaeology in the upper gallery of Sumtsek. The image bears profound

Kashmiri influence[29]. Again, in the huge stūpa of Sumtsek there are three massive clay images of Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya and Mañjuśrī. The robes of these images are decorated with paintings which bear Kashmiri influence to a great degree. The fourway chorten near Sumtsek has a portrait of Rin chen bzan po and two Kashmiri artists[30]. The male figure with a turban on one of the images in the temple of Mañjuśrī, close to Sumtsek, possibly bears its origin from Kashmir[31]. The wooden figure of a goddess from Alchi also represents the work of Kashmiri artists[32].

There have been found the iconographic affinities among the paintings of Alchi, Dandan Uilik (Central Asia) and Tun huang (China). For example the two figures of eleven headed Avalokiteśvara in Sumtsek, holding the sun and the moon in their raised hands. Same symbols (sun and moon) are also found on mural paintings at Pengikened, Balawasti panell (National Museum, New Delhi), Dandan Ulik panel (British Museum, London) and on a few banners from Tun huang[33]. (National Museum, New Delhi). The Nīlamatapurāna of Kashmir describes Śiva's upholding sun and moon in his two hands to enable Viṣṇu to kill Jalodbhava—a water demon[34]. Very recently a stone sculpture of Śiva (7th century A.D.) holding sun and moon has been located at Baramulla in Kashmir[35].

Apart from Alchi there are many other examples of Kashmiri art found in other parts of Tibet. The wall paintings in the monasteries of Mangnang and Guge are

ascribed to eminent Kashmiri artists[36]. Also, the doorways of Tsaparang, Tholing, Tabo show their connections with the art of Kashmir[37]. The small temple at Lhatse, which was dedicated to Kashmiri teacher Gayādhara, the construction of its doorway is also attributed to Kashmiri artists[38]. The statue from Luk, which was regarded as one of the country's leading artistic centres, is of Kashmiri origin[39]. At Tholing the statue of Vajrapāṇi is also from Kashmir.[40] The Mañjuśrī of śākya monestry is also of Kashmiri origin and it is said to have been a gift from Śākyaśrībhadra(13th century A.D.) from Kashmir[41].

The influence of Kashmiri tradition is seen on one of the clay tablets(tsha ts'as) from Tibet which were used to be deposited in chortens, show the Buddha between two Bodhisattvas wearing a crown[42]. Also, on the thangkas (patas), particularly of western Tibet, it was the style of Kashmiri paintings which predominated in the beginning[43].

It is very difficult to draw a line of relationship between the art of Kashmir and the various Central Asian tranditions. Because of its geographical situation, Kashmir nurished a special relationship with the numerous kingdoms of Central Asia. Central Asian civilization itself was an amalgam of varied cultures. It is beyond doubt that there were direct cultural contacts between Kashmiri and the neighbouring states in the north. Kashmir,

as a principal source of Buddhism, its art also must have considerably influenced the Buddhist art of Central Asia. In this context a legend as given by Yuan Chwang[44] about the miraculous transfer of the Buddha figure from Kashmir to P'o-ch'ieh-chi —a province of Chinese Turkistan near Khotan, is of great interest. It points to the supply of the Buddha statues from Kashmir to Khotan very early. The story also indicates that Kashmir was one of the channels through which the Buddhist art of Khotan received its relation with the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara.

Like a large number of Buddhist monks and scholars who took alongwith them Buddhist literature and also the Buddha images, Kashmiri artists also travelled to far-flung areas of Central Asia to work there. Also, the Central Asian and Chinese pilgrims who came here took alongwith them many objects of art.

During the beginning of the Christian era the art-style of Kashmir seems to have great affinity with that of the neighbouring areas of Gandhara and Central Asia. It was particularly uptill the 4th century A.D.that the art-style of Kashmir was greatly affected by the Helenistic and Sassano-Iranian styles, through Gandhara. About the 6th century A.D.the art of Kashmir and Central Asia was mainly affected by the art of Gandhara. The Buddhist sculptures found at Uskur in Kashmir are the examples of this fact. From the 4th century onwards the Gupta art also

had its repurcussions on the art of Kashmir and further its effect is seen in the Buddhist monasteries of Gandhara and Central Asia. Hence the sculptures and paintings found in the monasteries of Central Asia, Bamiyan and Fondukistan(Afghanistan) and also the ruins of sculptures found in Kashmir are affected by both the Gandhara and Gupta styles. According to J.Hackin[45] the Indian influence found on the paintings of Buddhist monasteries of Khotan, Dandan Uilik and Kashgar with Kashmirian elements was introduced through Kashmir. During the medieval times i.e. the 8th century A.D. onwards and especially in the reign of powerful Lalitāditya the artists of the far-flung areas were attracted towards Kashmir with the result the art of Kashmir during this period received influences of various art styles. Thus the art of Kashmir during and after the reign of Lalitāditya represents a wonderful admixture of the art styles of the Gupta, Gandhara, Chinese, Central Asian, Iranian, etc.

From the 7th century onwards Kashmir played a very significant role in the dissemination of the Buddhist art to Central Asia, western Himalayas and Tibet. During this period Kashmir filled the vocum occured from the destruction of the Buddhist establishments in Gandhara. Tibet mainly borrowed its religion from Kashmir. It is obvious that Kashmiri art styles also provided

the Tibetan artists with the first models of Buddhist art.

-0-

1. Brown, Percy, Indian Architecture , p.155.
2. ibid, pp.154-155.
3. Tucci, G., finds some affinities of the figure of a sadhu from western Tibet with the sadhu depicted on the terracottas from Harwan. cf. Transhimalaya, p.92.Pl.114.
4. Kak,R.C., Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, p.107.
5. The umbrella shape can be still seen on early mosques of Kashmir.
6. Goetz,H., The Medieval Sculpture of Kashmir, Marg, vol.8, 1955, p.65.
7. cf.Kak,R.C., op.cit., pp.114-116.
8. ibid., pp.65-66.
9. Rawland,B., The Art and Architecture of India, p.110.
10. Kak, op.cit., pp.147.
11. ibid., pp.147-148.
12. Roerich,G., The Blue Annals, p.378.
13. Tucci,G., op.cit., p.94.
14. Bhan, J.L., Esoteric Buddhist Art of Alchi, Ladakh:Life & Culture, p.57.
15. Snellgrove,David, The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh, vol.I, p.51.
16. Dembi,B.K.Koul, Corpus of Śāradā Inscriptions, pp.107 ff.
17. Nilamata Purana, vv.684-690.
18. Avadanakalpalata, Intro.to 108th Pallava, vv.11-13.

19.Chattopadhyaya, Debiprasad, Taranatha's History of Buddhism in India, p.388.

20.Banerjae,P.,Painted Wooden Covers of Two Gilgit Manuscripts, Oriental Art,vol.14,1968,pp.114-118.

21.Tucci,G.,Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Rome, vol.I,1949, p.272.

22.Snellgrove, op.cit,vol.II,p.92.

23.Pal,P.,Bronzes of Kashmir, New-Delhi,1975,p.30.

24.Ibid.,p.40.

25.Rawland,B.,Art of Afghanistan, p.46.

26.Bhan,J.L.,Iconographic Interaction between Kashmir and Central Asia, unpublished seminar paper.

27.Franke,A.H.,Ladakh The Mysterious Land, Delhi,1978, p.50.

28.cf.Tucci, Iranshimalaya, p.143,Pl.135; also cf.Bhan,J.L.,Ladakh;Life & Culture,p.57.

29.cf.Bhan,op.cit.,p.69.

30.cf.ibid.,p. 56.

31.cf.ibid.,p.59.

32.Tucci,op.cit.,pp.92-93,Pl.150.

33.cf.Bhan,pp.54,65.

34.Ghai,Ved, The Nilamata Purana, vol.I,pp.6-7.

35.cf.Ladakh:Life and Culture,p.65.

36.Tucci,op.cit.,p.91.

37.cf.ibid.,pp.93,143; Pls.138,136,129.

38.cf.ibid.,p.143;Pl.137.

39.cf.ibid.,p.143,Pl.144.

40. cf.ibid,,p.143,Pl.127.

41.ibid.,p.138.

42.ibid.,p.118;
cf.pp.114-115.

43.ibid.,p.177.

44.Watters,Thomes, On Yuan Chwang's Travels, pp.298-299;
also cf. Stein,A., Ancient Khotan, vol.I,p.118.

45.Hackin, J., Studies in Chinese Art and some Indian Influences,p.10;
also cf.Craven, Roy,C., A Concise History of Indian Art,p.101.

-o-